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BEING SELECT DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF TUDOR ENGLAND

EDITED BY

R. H. TAWNEY, B.A.

READER IN ECONOMIC HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

AND

EILEEN POWER, M.A., D.LIT.

READER IN MEDIEVAL ECONOMIC HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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PREFACE.

In addition to those to whom we expressed our gratitude in the preface to our first volume, we are indebted to the following: in Volumes I. and II. to the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office for permission to include extracts from the *Acts of the Privy Council;* in Volume II. to Mr. H. W. Saunders for documents printed by him in the *History Teachers' Miscellany,* and to the Oxford University Press; in the present volume to the Headmaster and Governors of Christ's Hospital for allowing us to reprint John Howes' charming dialogues, and to the Clerk of Christ's Hospital, who kindly presented us with his own copy of the edition privately printed for the Governors. Our thanks are also due to Miss McClenaghan for transcribing for us the important and hitherto unpublished "Polices to reduce this Realme of Englande vnto a prōsperus Wealthe and Estate," and above all to Miss Bulkley for her invaluable assistance in checking transcripts and reading proofs, and in many other ways.

R. H. T.
E. E. P.

157549

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PROLOGUE.

1. THE STRENGTH AND WEALTH OF ENGLAND, 1549.

[Le Débat des Hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre, suivi de The Debate between the Heralds of England and France by John Coke, ed. L. Pannier and Paul Meyer (Paris, 1877), pp. 101-5, 114-19. The first debate was probably written *c.* 1453-61. The second (1549), extracts from which are printed here, was modelled on this. Coke was "clarke of the kynges recognysaunce or vulgerly called clarke of the statutes of the Staple of Westmynster."]

The french heralde speketh of the feates of the sea.

Dame Prudence, I saye that Fraunce is more stronger on the sea then England, excedyng it farre en nombre of puyssaunt shypps, and galais, aswell for war as marchauntes and fyshermen, by reason wherof the kyng of Fraunce is kyng of the sea, so that no nacion is able there to resyst hym; and he that is strongest on the sea may call hym selfe kyng therof. We have also plenty of havyns and poortes, accomptyng from Sluse unto Bayon, full of shypps and maroners, wich they lacke in England, for, at their instant sute and labour, we bring them by sea, wyne, salte, wood [i.e. woad] and other marchaundises; so that I conclude howe, by the reasons above sayd, the kyng of Fraunce is very kyng and lorde of the sea. And when it shall please his grace, he may kepe th' Englishmen from it in suche wyse that they shall not departe one fote out of theyr realme withoute his lycence and conge of his hyghnes.

The heralde of Englande answereth to the feate of the sea.

Syr heralde, where you say you have great plentye of shyps and galais in Fraunce, to that I answere how likewise have we in England. And touchynge puissant shyppes, more in

nombre then you, yet you use not your shyps in such wise wherby you ought to be magnyfied. If your predecessours or you now present had made assembly of ships to warre agaynst th' infideles, then you ought to be honoured and cronycled, but I fynde you never warred on the sea wherby you wan honoure, but rob and spoyle the marchauntes and pore fysshermen of al nacions, and wold do moche more yf the kyng of Englande dyd not punishe you aswel by lande as sea. Is this the occasion wherby you ought to be honoured? I say nay, but to be reproched and dyshonoured, for you enpeche the welth of marchaundise, pyllyng and robbyng the christen people.

And for somoche as you, syr heralde, speke so proudly of your navy, where wan you ever honour on the sea of the Englisshmen? If you had, I trust it shuld not have ben forgotten. I have shewed before how th' Englysshmen many hundred tymes (God be thanked!) have vanquyshed the Hungariens, now Frenchemen, on the sea, and do dayly: then, this thynge beyng true, howe, can you be kynges and lordes of the sea?

I woll prove that the kyng of England is kyng of the narowe sea, and not you; for a kyng that wolde be lorde of the sea must have thre thinges necessary, that is to say: great and perfounde waters and havyns to kepe his shyps in; secondarely, plenty of shyps; and thirdly, marchaundises to exercise them. These thre thinges be so necessary that th' one is lytell worth without the other, for the havyns is nothyng without shyps, and without the havyns the navy cannot be kept, and where is no marchaundyses to exercyse shyps, they peryshe and rotte. Syr heralde, the puissaunt kyng of England hath these thynges better then you. Fyrst you shall perceyve howe Englande is invironed with th' Occian seas full of havyns, poortes, and crekes, farre excedyng Fraunce: as the poorte of Southampton, beyng one of the fayrest havyns of christendome, and thereto stronge and myghtie for the defense of a navy; also Portesmouth, Dartmouth, Plymmoth, Fawmoth, the mighty havyn of Melforde; item, in Kent, Dover, Sandwych, Wynchelsea, Rye, Romney, the Downes, where al the navy of christendome may lye in salvetie; Colchestre, Ippeswyche, Newcastell, Hull, Barwycke, and many other. There is also dyvers goodly ryvers, as Teames, Humbre,

Trent, Owse, Ayre, Donne, Tyne, and many other, where shyppes may assuredly kepe them. You have dyvers fayre havyns, and pretty crekes, yet not to the nombre, strength nor valure of them of England, for the sea is only on the one syde of Fraunce, full of flattes and daungers. And where you declare youre lymytes to be betwene Sluse and Bayon, I woll cut you of lx myles in length, for from Sluse to Calais you have never a foote of ground, pourte, haven, nor creke. The kynge of Englande hath lykewyse havyns and crekes on your syde, as you cal it, as Calais, Sandgate, and other, so that of the poortes, havyns and crekes, you lose the battayle.

Item, to the navy of shyps, the kynges majestie of England may farre excede you, and with lèsse coste when it shall please hym; and woll you se how? To make shyppes there muste be thre thynges necessarie: tymbre, yron, and workemen. Fyrst for tymbre, God knoweth the fayre woodes that be in Sussex, Kent, Hampshyre, Yorkeshyre, and in all other countreis of England, upon ryvers and places necessarye to make shyps, so that I knowe parfytly how one may have more tymbre for xl *s.* in England, then in Fraunce for v *li.* Nere your havyns and crekes is lytell or no tymbre, scarcely wood to dresse your meate, but burne turves and seacole, whiche you have out of England by saulfconducte or stelth. Item, for yron, we have in England plenty, as Sussex, Halomshyre, Yorkeshyre, the Forest of Deane, and in many other places; and you have none, oonles it come from Byscaye or Espayne. And as touchyng shypwryghtes, there be as good in England as in any other realme, as is apperaunt by the myghty shyps, galais, rowebarges, and other kynde of vessels whiche they dayly make. So it appereth that the kynges majestie alwayes maye excede you in nombre of shyps. And, one word, I daresay how Fraunce at this day hath no suche store of shyps royal, rowebarges, galais, and other vesselles prepayred for the warres, as his majestie hath.

Item, to th'exercisyng of his navy, no prynce may better set them to worke then he, for (God be praysed!) the commodyties of Englande, whiche shalbe declared herafter, be knowen aswell in Asia, Affrika, as Europa, so that al nacions desyre them. Whiche thyng noted, yf it pleased his majestie to exercise his navy with

those commodyties, his subjectes shuld therby be greatly enriched, and shulde wyn that which you and other estraungiers wynneth, for it were reason his navy schulde be fyrst prefarred. You have good marchaundise in Fraunce, but they be not to maynteyne a navy. Therfore, syr heralde, you se howe the kynges majestie of England hath the thre thynges necessary to supporte a puyssaunt navy, beyng to his great advantage, and to the tremour and feare of you his mortall anemyes. Wherfore, ryght excellent prynces lady Prudence, I, herald of the noble, most puissaunt and ancient realme of England, say that the french herald hath declared nothyng concernyng the feate of the sea wherby Fraunce ought to be honoured, nor have cause to say how they be most puissaunt on the sea (beyng with truth so directly by me answered), but gyve th'onour to the noble realme of England, and to except them (as they be) very lordes of the narowe sea.

The frenche heralde speketh of Ryches.

I say, dame Prudence, howe riches is a treasure and a goodly thynge to be aboute so myghty a prynce as Honour is, and for somoch as the realme of Fraunce is full of noblenes and ryches, I say and wol maynteyn that you ought to approche hym to Honour. And for to grounde my intencion, I woll shewe you of the ryches of Fraunce. I say there is ryches under thre maners: ryches above, under, and alongest th'erth. Fyrst, of the ryches above th'erth, I voll devyde lykewyse in thre, that is to say: ryches of people, fruytes and bestiall.

Of riches above th'earth, that is to say of people and good townes in Fraunce.

I say it is a thyng marvelous of the great nombre of people beyng in Fraunce, as of the clargy, noble men, marchauntes, artificers, husbandemen, and laborers; and as to the clargy, there is in Fraunce lxxxxv bysshops, and in England there is only xiiii; also in Fraunce there is a great nombre of riche and beautiful abbais and religious houses, where God is dayly most honourably served; and for the nobilitie, the crowne of Fraunce is nobly founded with xii peres, of whom vi be bysshops, iii

dukes, and iii erles, that is to say, the dukes of Burgoyne, Guyan, and Normandy, th'erles of Champayne, Flaunders, and Tolouze; and to say the truth, you shall se so great noblenes, goodly cyties, townes and vyllages, and in suche wyse peopled, that, to my jugement, one may say that Fraunce is a worlde of people; in so muche that I thynke there be more laborers of vynes in Fraunce than people in Englande of al estates. In England it is otherwyse, for a great parte of it is waste, desert, and salvaige grounde, not inhabyted nor th'erth tylled, but consysteth in forestes, chases, parkes, and enclosures, so that you, syr heralde of Englande, may answere me, how you have as many dere in England as we have people in Fràunce. But for men, women and children, there is in Fraunce a c. for i. Also, you have no good cytie, towne nor vyllayge but London; and where lacketh habitacion there can be no people, and where is no people to laboure the earth, and to bye and sell one with another, there can be no good townes.

Also, I wol approve by another reason that you cannot have so moch people nor so good townes as we have in Fraunce, and that is this: You have more plenty of wolles in Englande to make cloth then we. Yet our clothiers dwel in good townes, who manyteyne th'ynhabitantes and pore people there, so that they get theyr lyvynges by spynnyng and cardyng. Lykewyse, fullers, shermen, diers and other occupations for dressyng of clothes, and also taylours, hosiers, cordwaners, barbours, bakers, brewers, with other sortes of people, lyve by them, and cannot be forborne where suche clothiers inhabite. It is not so in England, for your clothiers dwel in great fermes abrode in the countrey, havyng howses with commodities lyke unto gentylmen, where aswel they make cloth and kepe husbandry, and also grasse and fede shepe and catell, takyng therby awaye the lyvynges of the pore husbandmen and grasiers. Furthermore in Englande sum one man kepeth in his handes ii or iii fermes, and where hath ben vi or viii persons in every ferme, he kepeth oonly a shepparde or wretched heardman and his wyfe.

Lykewyse, many gentilmen for their private commodities enclose a myle or ii aboute theyr houses, distroyeng therby not onely the fermes and cotages within the same circuites, but also

the good townes and villages nere adjoynyng; so that by these reasons, merveyle not, dame Prudence, though we far excede England in riches, nombre of people, good townes and villages; also the cloth made in Fraunce excedeth in true makyng, fynes and goodnes the cloth made in Englande, which is by reason they have no officers where theyr clothiers dwell, to visite the true makyng therof, as we have in good townes in Fraunce, or els it is for that they lacke knowledge or wyt.

. . . . . .

Answere [of the English herald] to the marchauntes and artificers of Fraunce.

Concerning your marchauntes of Fraunce, we have also marchauntes in England, who frequenteth all the partes of the world for traffique of marchaundyse. And especially ii companyes, that is to say, the ryght worshypful company of marchauntes adventurers, and the famous felyshyp of the Estaple of Calais, by whom not only the martes of Barowe and Andwarpe be mayntened, but also in effect al the townes of Brabant, Holand, Zeland and Flaunders. These ii companies do more feates of marchaundises then al the marchauntes of Fraunce; and for somoche as all the worlde knoweth this to be trewe, I passe them over.

Item, for our artificers, that which they make is ryght and true marchaundises, and yours is counterfayte. The yomen and husbandmen of Englande be substancial and honest howsholders, who be equall in degre to your Monsers of Fraunce, and excede them in good maners, and all other feates that men shuld do.

Answere to the nombre of people in Fraunce.

Item, to the great nombre of people you have in Fraunce: What maner of people be they? I say, syr herald, they be caytives and wretches, lyvyng in lyke thraldome as they dyd to the Romaynes, and gevyng tribute for theyr meate, drinke, bredes and salte; which, for theyr wayke personayges and tymerous hartes, I may compare to the Pigmies who waged battayle agaynst the cranes, so that I dare let slyp a c. good yomen of England or Wales to v^{c} of such ribaldry.

The name of sum good townes in England.

And where you say we have never a good towne in England, onely London, I pray you what is Barwike, Carlile, Duresme, Yorke, Newcastell, Hull, Northampton, Norwyche, Ippeswyche, Colchestre, Coventre, Lychfelde, Exetoure, Brystowe, Salysbury, Southampton, Worsetour, Shrowesbury, Cantorbury, Chychestre, with thousandes more of cyties and townes in Englande, Wales, and Irlande, whiche, yf they were in Fraunce, shulde be called good townes?

And as concernynge the auncyent and famous cytie of London, lady Prudence, no cytie in Fraunce is to be compared unto it: fyrst for the most pleasaunt situacion; then considre the magnifique and decorate churches, the godly predicacions and serves in them; the trewe and bryefe admynstracion of justyce; the stronge Towre of London; the large and plentyous ryver; the beautyfull palayces, places and buyldynges royall, as wel al alongest the sayde ryver as in every streate of the Cytie and rounde about the same; the ryche marchauntes and other people; the fayre ladyes, gentylwomen and theyr chyldren; the godly bryngyng up of youth, and actyvytie of theyr chyldren to lernyng; the prudent ordre amongest the occupacions; theyr beautiful halles; the great nombre of gentilmen there alwayes estudyeng the lawes of the realme; the hygh estate of the mayre and shyryffes, and the kepyng of theyr sumptuous howsholdes; the brydge of London, with the fayre mansions on it; the large and mighty suburbes; the pleasaunt walkes without every porte, for recreation of th'ynhabitauntes; and the excedyng nombre of stronge archiers and other myghty men whiche they may make to serve theyr kyng furnyshed for the warres. These thynges well consydered, syr heralde, I thynke many of your cyties is not to be compared to London.

And as for our forests, chases, parkes, and inclosures, they mere made and enclosed for the pastyme of kynges, princes and noble men, which when it shal please the kynges majestie and the lordes of his most honorable counceile, parte of them may be put to tylth, manuring and habitacion, as they have ben in tymes paste. And whereas we be nowe (God be thanked!) able

to enforce you to recognise your dutie and resyst your malyce, we shulde then be moche more.

Also yf our clothiers were commaunded to enhabyte in townes, as they do in Fraunce, Flaunders, Brabant, Holande, and other places, we shuld have as many good townes in England as you have in Fraunce, and clothe more fyner and truelyer made, notwithstandynge your bragges.

Of fruytes above th'erth in Englande.

Item, syr heralde, you say howe in Fraunce you have habundaunce of corne, grasse, oxen, kyne, moyles, asses, with other beastes chevalynes. I answere how it is necessary for you so to have, for, by your brablynges and warres, whiche you make with your neyghbours of Navern, Byscay, Savoye, Burgoygne, Italy, and Flaunders, you destroy more corne, grasse, and vytailes then any other nacion, yet many times you seke of us when you may obtayne them by salfconducte, stelth, or otherwyse.

Item, for your wyne, we have good-ale, bere, metheghelen, sydre, and pirry, beyng more holsome beverages for us then your wynes, which maketh your people dronken, also prone and apte to all fylthy pleasures and lustes.

And where you bost your self to have olyves, almondes, fygges, and raysons, the children in the stretes of London know them to be commodities of Espayne and not of Fraunce.

Item, we have almaner of graynes and fruites, and more plenty then you; for, thanked be God! England is a fruitful and plenteous region, so that we have sum fruites wherof you have fewe, as wardeines, quynces, peches, medlers, chestnottes, and other delycious fruytes servying for all seasons of the yere, and so plenty of peres and aples, that in the west partes of England and Sussex they make pirry and sydre, and in suche habundaunce that they convaye parte over the sea, where by the Monseurs of Fraunce it is coveted for theyr beverages and drynkes.

Item, we have safron growyng in Englande, excedynge in goodnes safron of any other countreis. Also wood [i.e. woad], madder, and whyte salte made by force of the sonne, and you have onely gray salte whiche commeth out of Brytayne.

Of the ryches of bestiall in Englande.

Sir heralde, where you say you have great ryches of bestiall in Fraunce, I say we have lykewyse in Englande, and more plentie then you, as oxen, kyne, swyne, gootes, and suche other. Also we have shepe beryng the fynest woll of the worlde, whose valure in the olde tyme was estemed to the weyght of golde, wherof we make fyne scarlettes, clothes, carseis, stocke bredes, fryses, cottons, worstedes, sayes, and coverlettes, beyng aswel coveted by you and other nacions christened, as also by the Jues, Turkes, Sarasynes, and all other infydeles.

Item, th'Emperours subjectes, and lykewyse you of Fraunce, get your lyvynges by our sayd wolles, makyng therwith sayes, tapisterie, ryssel worstedes, cloth, carpettes, and other thynges, wherby the most parte of your townes and people be supported and maynteined.

Item, we have marterns, foynes, blacke and gray conys, otters, fitches, squerelles, whyte and blacke lambe, with other kyndes of furres.

Also salte hydes, lether, talowe, felles, and many other commodytyes whiche you cannot forbeare.

Item, for your pore moyles and asses, we have great horses and geldynges for the warre, also ambelynge hackeneys, and hobbes plentie, and you have none, oonles they come out of Englande, Irlande, Italy, or Flaunders.

So that your comparyson of bestiall is lyke to your comparyson of men; and therefore, syr heralde, of ryches of bestiall you lese your cause in the felde, and that I reporte me to lady Prudence.

Of ryches under the earth in Englande.

Sir heralde, for your ryches in Fraunce under th'erth, that is to say of golde, sylver, plaister of Paris, cole, and saltepeter. First, to your mynes of gold and sylver, I say howe you cary them in your purses aboute you for robbyng; other mynes of those kyndes of metals was never harde of before in Fraunce.

We have in Cornwall and Devonshyre (God be honored!) the rychest mynes of sylver and tynne that may be; also in Irland mynes of sylver, in Darbyshyre mynes of leade, aliblaster, marble

blacke and whyte; in Sussex, Yorkeshyre, and Duresme, mynes of yron, cole, slate, and frestone, and in every shyre of England generally quarres of hardstone, chalke, and flynte. These be commodities honorable and not fayned, beyng of such estemacion that Fraunce nor other realmes may wel forbere; and as for saltpeter, there is sufficient made in Englande to furnyshe our turne for the warres.

Also we have hot fontaynes or bathes, whiche you nor no other realme chrystened had.

Of ryches in Englande alongest th'erth.

Item, Englande, sum tyme called in frenche *Le Graunde Britayne*, in the Cosmography and in other cartes is named the greatest iland of the world, invironed with th'occian sees, havyng fysshertownes and fysshermen in every cost. Also, syr herald, I have before resited how the kyng of England is kyng of the narowe sea, wherin we have a great advauntaige of you, havyng your most fysshing on our coostes, which his majestie may let when it shalbe his pleasure, and that shulde be to Fraunce a great deminishyng aswel of theyr navy as maroners. And in case our fysshermen of England wolde take paynes, applyeng them selves to the sea as yours do, they shulde not only receyve that benefite of fysshyng which you do take, fysshynge within our streames and lymites, but also shuld therby enriche them selves, maynteyne the townes where they dwell, bryng up pore youth, supporte the navye, encrease maroners, and avoyde idlenes, which shuld not only please God, but also be a great strength, propugnacle and bulwarke for the noble realme of Englande.

Furthermore, Isidore and Orose sayth briefly that in Englande is fayre ryvers, ryche metalles, whot fontaynes, precious stones, especially perles, good fruites, good corne, shepe, catell, hartes, hyndes, and other beastes salvaiges, with other commodities in habundaunce. Wherfore, syr herald of Fraunce, I counceyle you to put those imaginacions and fantasies out of your hed, thynkyng to compare Fraunce, havyng fewe commodities, and beyng a realme accumulated together of the possessions of the Emperour, the kyng of England, the duke of Brytayne, the duke of Sevoye, the erle of Provence and other, to the noble

empyre of England, which hath such graces and gyftes of God, and also is a whole monarche of itself, wherunto no man can make clayme, oonles it be to the whole.

Thus Englande, havyng all the pleasures, commodities and ryches that Fraunce hath, hath also moch more; wherfore the more you debate this matter, the more you be dishonored, yf any honour were in you; but you Frenchmen be so opinatyff, and ful of crackes, bostes, bragges, vauntes, and fables, and therunto so full of wordes (wherof fewe or none true), that you thynke to wyn the battayle and victory by force of obstynacye and fasynge.

SECTION I.—ENCLOSURES AND THE COUNTRYSIDE.

1. POPULAR RHYMES AGAINST ENCLOSURES AT COVENTRY, 1496.

[Coventry Leet Book, ed. M. Dormer Harris (E.E.T.S., 1907-13), pp. 577-78.]

[July 1496] . . . The seid Laurence,[1] because he refused to fynde suerte of his goode demeasner hereafter, he was commytte to warde. . . . Wheruppon ij seducious billes were founde isette vppon the Mynster durre in the feste of seynt Anne, and a nother was cast etc. Wherof the tenour hereafter ensuen :—

[1.] Jhesus be your spede,
I hope hit be nede
Thus to pray.
You have hunted the hare,
You holde him in a snare;
Hit had be as goode nay.
Ye that be of myght,
Se that ye do right,
Thynk on youre othe.
For where that ye do wrong,
Ye shall mend hit among,
Though ye be neuer so loth.
Litell small been,
That all aboute fleen,
They waggen their whyng,

[1] Laurence Saunders was the champion of the commonalty in the long struggle which was waged over the enclosure of the Lammas fields of the town. The rich burgesses of the town council were of the enclosing party.

Where as they light,
The been will byte,
And also styng.
Loke that ye do right.
Both day and nyght,
Beware of wappys.
Both erly and late,
Kepe well your pate
For after clappys.
pars primo [*sic*].

[2.] The cyte is bond that shuld be fre.
The right is holden from the Cominalte.
Our Comiens that at Lammas open shuld be cast
They be closed in and hegged full fast.
And he that speketh for our right is in the hall,
And that is shame for yewe and for vs all.
You cannot denygh hit but he is your brother;
And to bothe Gildes he hath paid as moch as another.
They that woll be brother to the Gildes or therto pay,
We haue no more to lose, the soth for to say.
For eny fauour or frenship the comiens with yowe fynde
But pyke awey our thryfte and make vs all blynde.
And euer ye haue nede to the Cominalte,
Such favour as ye shewe vs such shall ye see.
We may speke feire and bid you good morowe,
But luff with our hertes shull ye haue non.
Cherish the Cominalte and se they haue their right
For drede of a worse chaunce be day or be nyght.
The best of you all litell worth shuld be
And ye had not help of the Cominalte.
He luffeth me well that telleth me for my goode,
Mend that is amysse for movyng of your mode.
On may her be a nother that he shall not fynde,
But ye shall here of sum other what shalbe the ende.

2. DUDLEY'S WARNING TO THE PEOPLE AGAINST REBELLION, 1509-10.

[The Tree of Common Wealth : A Treatise by Edmonde Dudlay, Esq. . . . Now first printed from a Copy of his Manuscript for the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross (Manchester, 1859), pp. 50-54.]

. . . Nowe, ye good Commoners that haue the fruite of tranquillitie, your fruite hath a core of the which ye haue great neede to beware. For it hath grieved you manie tymes, and that right merveloustie. The core of your fruite is called lewde enterprise. I tell you, albeit it be delectious and pleasaunte to beholde, it is a morsell nothing meete for your diet. And if ye will needes deale therewith, it will not only bring you from tranquillitie to the disease of grevous Thraldom and misery, but also oftentymes to vtter destilacion [*sic* ? destruction]. This lewde core enterpriseth, ere he come to doe his shamefull feate or intente, most commonly he sendeth twoe purciphantes [pursuivants] or messengers before him, chosen of the worst for our profit. The first of these two messengers is Discontentacion or murmour. This messenger will induce you to grudg or take some inwarde displeasure in doing your dutie, as in paying your farmes, rentes for howses and landes to them that ye be bounde to paye it, or for some other particuler service that to your tennantes belongeth to doe; or to murmour at the payment of Taxes or fyfteenes, when they be graunted for causes necessarie. He will also induce you to grudge or to disdaine to be in such obediancy or subieccion to your superiors or betters. Beware of this messenger, for he must [*blank in MS.*] you to your owne mischief, if you to him consent. And reuerently [*blank*] this fellowe that cometh, the seconde messenger in a gay quilte coate, to inveagle [*blank*] with pride, the most perilous spectacle that the comminaltie may vse. Full ill is it in all men; but worst in the poorest. The name of the seconde messenger is Arrogancye, nighe cosin to pride. His nature and propertie is to entice to enable yourself to such thinges as nothing beseemeth, or to doe such thinges as you can nothing skill on. He will shewe you that you be made of the same moulde and mettall that the gentiles be made of. Whie then should they

sporte and plaie and you labour and Tyll? He will tell you also that at your birthes and at your deathes your riches is indifferent. Why should they have soe much of the prosperitie and treasor of this world, and ye soe little? Besides that he will tell you that ye be the children and right inheritovrs to Adam, as well as they. Whie should they haue this great honour, royall castels and mannors with soe much landes and possessions, and you but poore Tenementes and cotages? He will shewe you also whie that Christ bought as derely you as them, and with one manner of price, which was his precious blood. Whie then should you be of soe poore estate, and they of soe high degree? Or whie should you doe them soe much honour and reverence with crowching and kneeling, and they take it soe high and statelie on them? And percase he will informe you howe your soules and theires, which maketh you all to be men, for els ye were all but beastes, whereby god created in you one manner of Noblenes without any adversity, and that your soules be as precious to god as theires. Whie then should they haue of you so great aucthority and powre to commyt to prison, to ponishe and to Judge you?

But, you good commoners, in any wise vtterlie refuse this messenger; for though he shewe the truth to you, he meaneth full falslie, as afterwardes you shall well knowe; and if you once savor in theis thinges, then cometh your lewde enterprise, the core of your fruite of tranquillitie, and he will you encouradge to play the man, and bid you remember well the monstracions or shewinges of the messenger Arrogancy. He will bid you leave to ymploie yourselues to labour and to tyll like beastes, nor suffer yourselves to be subdued of your fellowes. He will promise to set you on high and to be lordes and governours, and noe longer to be Churles as you were before; or at the leaste he will promise you to make you fellowes in bodyes, as god made you in soules, and then shall there be a Royall rule in this realme. And to put you in a further comfort he will assure you that some of the Chevalrie will take your parte openly and privilie, or at the least to give you sufferaunce, prove as you maye. He will also displaye vnto you his banner of insurreccion and saie to you, "Nowe set forwarde; your tyme is right good."

But woe be vnto that man that will fight therevnder. He will promise you to wante noe treasour to performe your purpose, for he will saie some of the clergie will comforte you right well and lardglie with mony, for they haue looked therefore many a daye. The merchantes, the Farmours, the grasiers that be rich, into this market will bring their bages, that they haue kept soe long. And as for the widowes and the wyves also [they] will ransacke their forcers and their knotted cloutes to the last penny that they can finde, and rather then faile, their girdles, their beades, and their weddinge ringes, thus wisely they will them bestowe. And as for men he promiseth you ynnumerable. Yet, ye good Commoners, for your owne ease, deale not with this false core, but be contented with the fruite of tranquillity. It is for you both profitable and good, and will make you welthie, if welth may be suffred, and grudge not against your superiors for doing your duty. Covet not the prosperitie of the Chevalry, nor muse thereon, nor disdaine ye not the great powre of our Soueraigne, but with due reuerence obey it. For be ye sure the high providence of god is that ye should doe soe, as he declareth himself right plainly to his chosen people, when they desired a kinge. Therefore mynde you not this purpose or intent, that is the equallitie of the mouldes betwene the nobles and you, nor the cognisaunce of the petegree from Adam, nor the indifferency of their soules in theire creacions; nor be not the prowder that one prince redeemeth both them and you, nor for that the glory of all Soules standeth not in bodely powre nor auctoritie, nor yet in silver, golde nor pretious stones, nor yet in bewtie, strengthe, wisdome nor pollicy, but only in vertue indifferent to all creatures. But let vs all consider that god hath set a due order by grace betwene himselfe and aungells, and betwene angle and angell, and by reason betwene Aungell and man, and betwene man and man, and man and beast, and by nature only betwene beaste and beaste; which order, from the highest pointe to the lowest, god willeth vs fervently to kepe, without any enterprise to the contrary. But of all theis messengers [*sic* ? messages] that theis proude and sedicious messengers brought vnto you, if ye will well and substancially ymprinte them in the hartes of the nobles, it should doe noe harme; peradventure it would

cause them at seasons to haue the more compassion, mercy and charitie ouer the poore Commoners.

And to put you in a more perfit remembraunce not to deale with this lewde core of lewde enterprise, looke how yourself and such as [you] haue been served and deceived by him in tymes paste. Firste consider the great [*blank in MS.*] of the realme of Fraunce being in great wealth and tranquillitie. Loke on them [that made] a lewde enterprise in the tyme of Kynge [*blank*] and at that season frowardlie did great and shamefull displeasures and wilfulnes in the noblest of Fraunce. But in conclucion there [*sic* ? they] were subdued and vtterly destroyed. And then were the commons of Fraunce put in more Subieccion and thraldome then ever they were before, the which yet contynueth. Looke more nere to yourselues, the Comynaltie of this realme of England, whoe haue often tymes smarted full sore for such lewde enterprise; behold well whether the Commoners of the west parte of this lande wonne anie honestie or profit by their lewde enterprise with their captaine the blacksmyth. I praie god to saue this realme from any such captaine hereafter. Therefore of theis presidentes you haue enoughe to eschewe this perilous core of your fruite. Yet cast not away this enterprise of your core, for yt may fortune to be to you a chief frende, and therefore keep him close within you vnto the tyme ye may lawfullie vse him.

3. ENCLOSURES NEAR LONDON, 1514.

[Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII., by Edward Hall, ed. Charles Whibley (1904), Vol. I., pp. 119-20.]

Before this tyme the tounes about London, as Islyngton, Hoxston, Shordysh and other, had so enclosed the comon feldes with hedges and diches, that nother the young men of the citie myght shote, nor the auncient persons might walke for their pleasur in the feldes, except either the bowes and arrowes were broken or taken away, or the honest and substancial persons arrested or indited, saieng that no Londoner shuld go out of the citie but in the hygh wayes. Thys sayeng sore greved the

Londeners, and sodainly this yere a great nomber of the citie assembled them selfes in a morninge, and a turnar in a fooles coote came cryenge through the cytye, 'shovels and spades,' and so manye people folowed that it was wonder, and within a short space all the hedges about the townes were cast doune, and the diches filled, and every thyng made plain, the workemen were so diligent. The kinges counsayll, hearyng of this assembly, came to the Gray Friers, and sent for the mayre and the counsail of the cytye to knowe the cause, whiche declared to them the noysance done to the Citezens, and their commodities and liberties taken from them, though they would not that the commonaltie and younge persones, whyche were dampnefyed by the noisaunce, would pluck up and remedy the same. And when the kinges counsayll had harde the aunswer, they dissimuled the matter, and commaunded the mayer to se that no other thynge were attempted, and to call home the citezens, which, when they had done their enterprice, came home before the kynges counsayll and the Mayre departed, without any harme more doing, and so after the feldes were never hedged.

4. EXTRACT FROM THE BALLAD "NOWE A DAYES," *c.* 1520.

[Ballads from Manuscripts, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Ballad Soc., Vol. I., 1868-72), pp. 93-100 *passim.*]

We Englisshemen beholde
Our auncient customs bolde,
more preciouser then golde,
  be clene cast away,
And other new be fownd
the which (ye may vnderstand)
that causethe all your land
  So gretly to decay.

. . . . . .

Envy waxith wonders strong,
the Rich[e] doth the poore wrong:
God of his mercy sufferith long
  the devill his workes to worke.

The townes go down, the land decayes;
Off cornefeyldes, playne layes;
Gret men makithe now a dayes
  A shepecott in the churche.

The places that we Right holy call,
Ordeyned For christyan buriall,
Off them to make an ox stall
  thes men be wonders wyse.
Commons to close and kepe;
Poor folk for bred [to] cry and wepe;
Towns pulled downe to pastur shepe:
  this ys the new gyse!

Alyauntes here have ther way,
And Englysshmen cleane decay,
the one half must nedes play;
  this ys a comon welth!
Other landes avaunced bee,
And by and sell among vs free;
And thus our own commodite
  Doth clene vndo our selff.

Marchauntes vse subtility,
the church livith viciously,
the commons are in poverty,
  this lond goth to wast:
Marchaunt men travell the contre,
plowmen Dwell in the cyte,
Which wyll Destroy the land shortly:
  That will be sene in hast!

. . . . . .

Greate De[ar]th and much idelnes,
lytle mony and much sicknes,
gret pryd and smale Riches,
  How can these agree?

Gret auctorite and smale wisdom,
Symple officers and gret extorsion:
Lyght offence and sore correction,
  An end of this must bee.

. . . . . .

many gammers and few archers,
gay cortyars and yll warryers,
many craftesmen and halff beggers,
  both in townes and cyty.
Frenche ware hither ys browght,
and englishe hand craft gothe to nowght.
Halffe this Realme, it ys vnwrowght!
  Alas, for pure pytty!

. . . . . .

The former of heven above all thing,
In the celestiall court sittyng,
thre in one withowt begynnyng,
  the father and sonne and holy goost!
Off thy infinyte mercy
send to vs some Remedy!
Or els I fear shortly
  this Realm wyl be lost.

. . . . . .

5. ENCLOSING ABBOTS, *c.* 1527-28.

[William Roy, Rede me and be nott wrothe [etc.], ed E. Arber (English Reprints, 1895), pp. 99-100.]

Jef[*fraye*]. . . . The abbeys then full of covetys
Whom possessions coulde not suffyse
  Ever more and more encroachynge.
After they had spoyled gentill men
They vndermyned husbande men
  In this manner theym robbynge.
Wheare a farme for xx. li. was sett
Under xxx. they wolde not it lett,
  Raysynge it vp on so hye a some

That many a good husholder
Constrayned to geve his farme over
To extreme beggary did come.

Wat[kyn]. I have hearde saye of myne elders
That in Englonde many fermers
Kept gaye housholdes in tymes passed.

Jef. Ye, that they did with liberalite
Sheawynge to povre people charite
But nowe all together is classhed.
Of ryche farme places and halles
Thou seist nothynge but bare walles
The ropes fallen to the grownde.
To tourne fayre houses into pasture
They do their diligent cure
The commen well to confownde.

Wat. Howe have the abbeys their payment?

Jef. A newe waye they do invent
Lettynge a dosen farmes vnder one.
Which one or two ryche francklynges
Occupyinge a dosen mens lyvynges
Take all in their owne hondes a lone.

Wat. The wother in paiyng their rent
Be lycklyhod were negligent
And wolde not do their duty.

Jef. They payde their duty and more
But their farmes are heythed so sore
That they are brought vnto beggery.

Wat. Have the francklynges thereby no gayne?

Jef. Yes but fyrst they have moche payne
Yer they can gett it substancially,
Payinge more for the entrynge in
Then they shalbe able to wynne
A good whyle after certeynly.
For to gett the abbottes consent
Under the scale of the covent
It is a thynge very costly.

Where-of the charges to recover
Lest they shulde theym selves enpover
And be brought into decaye,
Pover cilly shepperdes they gett
Whome into their farmes they sett
Lyvynge on mylke whyg and whey.
Wat. Mercyfull lorde who hearde ever tell
Religious folke to be so cruell
Supplantynge the temporalte.

6. FITZHERBERT ON THE BENEFITS OF ENCLOSURE, 1539.

[Fitzherbert, Surveyenge. Reprinted in Certain Ancient Tracts concerning the Management of Landed Property Reprinted (London 1767), pp. 96-100.]

Chapter XL. *Howe to make a Township that is worthe xx Marke a Yere, worth xx li. a Yere.*

It is undoubted, that to euery townshyppe that standeth in tyllage in the playne countrey, there be errable landes to plowe, and sowe, and layse to tye or tedder theyr horses and mares upon, and common pasture to kepe and pasture theyr catell, beestes and shepe upon. And also they have medowe grounde to get theyr hey upon. Than to let it be knowen how many acres of errable lande euery man hath in tyllage, and of the same acres in euery felde to chaunge with his neyghbours, and to leye them toguyther, and to make hym one seueral close in euery felde, for his errable landes and his leyse in every felde, to leye them togyther in one felde, and to make one several close for them all, and also another severall close for his portion of his common pasture, and also his porcion of his medowe in a seuerall close by itselfe, and al kept in seueral both in wynter and somer; and euery cotage shall have his portion assigned hym accordynge to his rent; and than shall nat the ryche man ouerpresse the poore man with his catell, and every man may eate his owne close at his pleasure. And undoubted, that hay and strawe that wil finde one beest in the house wyll finde two beestes in the close, and better they shall lyke. For those beastis in the

house have short heer and thynne, and towarde Marche they wyll pylle and be bare, and therefore they may not abyde in the felde byfore the heerdmen in winter tyme for colde. And those that lie in a close under a hedge have longe heare and thyck, and they wyll neuer pylle nor be bare, and by this reason the husbande maye kepe twyse so many catell as he did before.

This is the cause of this approwment. Nowe euery husbande hath sixe severall closes, whereof iii be for corne, the forthe for his leyse, the fyfte for his commen pastures, and the sixte for his haye; and in wynter time there is but one occupied with corne, and than hath the husbande other fyve, to occupy tylle lente come, and that [*sic*, than] he hath his falowe felde, his ley felde, and his pasture felde al sommer, and whan he hath mowen his medowe, than he hath his medowe grounde; soo that if he have any weyke catell that wold be amended, or dyvers maner of catell, he may put them in any close he wyll, the which is a great aduantage; and if all shulde lye commen, than wolde the edyche of the corne feldes and the aftermath of all the medowes be eaten in x or xii dayes. And the ryche men that hath moche catell wolde have the advantage, and the poore man can have no helpe nor relese in wynter, whan he hath moste nede; and if an acre of lande be worthe sixe pens or it be enclosed, it will be worth viii pens whan it is enclosed, by reason of the compostyng and dongyng of the catell, that shall go and lye upon it both day and nighte; and if any of his thre closes that he hath for his corne be worne or ware bare, than he may breke and plowe up his close that he hade for his layse, or the close that he hadde for his commen pasture, or bothe, and sowe them with corne, and let the other lye for a tyme, and so shall he have alway reist grounde, the which wil beare moche corne with lytel donge; and also he shall have a great profyt of the wod in the hedges whan it is growen, and not only these profytes and advantages beforesaid, but he shall saue moche more than al these, for by reason of these closes he shall save meate, drinke, and wages of a shepeherde, the wages of the heerdman, and the wages of the swine heerde, the whiche may fortune to be as chargeable as all his holle rent, and also his corne shall be better saued from eatinge or distroyeng with catel. For dout ye nat

but heerdemen with their catell, shepeherdes with their shepe and tieng of horses and mares, distroyeth moch corne, the which the hedges wold saue. Paradventure some men would say, that this shuld be against the common weale, bicause the shepeherdes, heerdmen, and swyneherdes shulde than be put out of wages. To that it may be answered, though those occupations be not used, there be as many newe occupations that were not used before; as gettyng of quicke settes, diching, hedging, and plashing, the which the same men may use and occupye. Also it may fortune men wyl say, that if all shuld be enclosed, that there wold be many foule lanes, as there be in Essex: but for that there may be a provision, and that is thus, where the kinges hieway is, if it be dry grounde, stony ground, or sandy ground, in al such places may be lanes made of a convenient breade, for the kynges people to passe through with al maner of cariage. And where it is softe ground lyeng leuel, that the waters may not wel passe by the dychesse, at every hedge that goeth over whart the hyeway, there to make a gate, and stone it or gravel it in that place. And then hath every man the hole close to ride, cary or go in, as they had before, likewise as they do at the wynd gates at this syde Chorley in Lanchashire; and likewise betweene towne and town; and as to their owne drift lanes to their closes, let them make them for their owne ease as they wil have them, etc.

The moste indifferentest meane to make these approwments, as me semeth, is this. Al the lordes of one towne, be there never so many, shulde be all of one assente, that theyr tenauntes shulde exchaunge their landes one with an other, and the sayd exchaunge to stande, and endure for ever; for dout theym nat, but they knowe it best, and every tenaunt for his owne advantage wyl do it indifferently, and the curate of the same parisshe for his parte, and euery lordes bayly to be indifferent, to se these closes lotted and assigned to everye man's ease, so that euery man maye have one lyttell croft or close next to his own house, if it may be, thoughe he may have no lande of his owne. This done, lette every lorde by his coppe of court role, or by indenture, to make a sufficient lease to every of their tenauntes, to have to hym and to his wyfe, and to his children, so that it passe not thre lyves, than beinge

alyve and named, yielding and paying to their lordes, and to their heires, the old rentes and seruyces before due and accustomed, during these thre lyves; upon this condition, that they shall do or cause to be done, duryng their lyves, sufficiently to quycke set, diche, hedge, and plashe, whan nede is, al the sayde closes, and soo kepe theym durynge their lyves; the whiche wyl be a great charge to the tenantes, but yet me semeth they may wel do it if they entende to thrive, and specially do remember the profits that may come to them afterward. There is an old saying, *Quod leuis est labor cum lucro*, that is to say, that labor is light where winning followeth, and moche of this labor may be done by himselfe, and his seruantes, at a convenient tyme, soo that he let nat his husbandry. It is moche to be done in one yere, two or thre, but and they may do it in syx or nyne yeres as the felde go aboute, they hye them well, for it is too costly for husbandes to hyre it to be doone. And the lordes me semeth canne do no lesse than to graunte them these thre lyues of the olde rent, remembrynge what profytes they maye have at the ende of the termes, they knowe not howe soone. For undouted one sette day cometh at laste, and though the advantage of the lordes come not anone, it wyll come at length. And therefore sayth the philosopher: *Quod differtur, non aufertur*, that thyng that is deferred is nat taken away, and in the meane time the lordes have no maner of losse, nor yet make no costes, but at their pleasure.

7. "VOX POPULI VOX DEI," 1547-48.

[Ballads from Manuscripts, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Ballad Society, Vol. I., 1868-72), pp. 124-46.]

Thus.

To the kinges most Exellent Maiestie.

I praye you, be not wrothe
for tellinge of the trothe!
for this, the worlde, it gothe
bothe to lyfe and to lothe.

as god him-Self he knothe,
and as all men vnderstandes,
bothe lordeshipes and landes
are now in few mens handes;
bothe Substance and bandes
of all the whole realme
are now consumed Cleane—
as moste men exteme—
frome the fermer and the powre
in the towne and the towere,
which makethe them to Lowere,
to See that in theire flowere
is neyther malte nor meale,
bacon, byfe, nor veale,
Crocke, mylke, nor keale,
but redy for to steale
for very pure neede.
Youre commenes saye in dede,
they be not abell to fede
In there stable skant a stede,
to bryng vp nor to brede,
Nor skant abel to brenge
to the markett any thynge
Towardes there howsse-kepinge;
and skant haue a cowe,
nor to kepe a powre sowe:
thus the warlde ys nowe!
and to here the relasion
of the powre menes comminycasion,
vnder whatt sortte and faschyon
thaye make there exclamasyon,
yow wolde haue compassion.
thus gothe ther protestation,
Sayenge, that suche and suche
that of latte are mayde Ryche,
Haue to, to to myche,
by grasyng and Regratynge,
by powlyng and debattynge,

by rollyng and by Dattyng,
by cheke and cheke-matynge,
with Delays and Debatynge,
with cowstomes and tallynges,
forfayttes and fore-stallynges,
So that youre pourmen saye
they styll paye, paye,
most wyllyngly alwaye,
but yett they se noe staye
of this owtt-rage a-raye.
vox populi vox Dei :
O most nobell kynge,
Consider well this thynge.

2

And thus the woyse dothe mvltyplye
amownges your grasis commynalte :
they are in suche grette penvry
that they cane nether sell ner bye,
Such ys there extreme powertey.
experyenes dothe it veryfye,
as trwthe yt selfe dothe testyfye,
this is a mervellvis mesirie
for grasiares, and Regrateres,
with soe many shepe-maisteres
that of erabell grounde make pasteres,
are they that be thes wasteres
that wyll vndoe this Lande,
yf thay contyniv and stande ;
as ye shall vnderstonnde
by this lytell bowke.
yf youre grace it over-lowke,
And over-lowke it agayne,
Hit wyll tyll yow soo playne
the tenvre and the trowthe,
Howe this warld now gowthe
with my neghtbore and my nost,
in every cowntre towne, and cost,

within the cercumvisiones
of your grasis Domynyones;
and whye the powre men wepe
for stawryng of suche shepe,
for that soo many kype
Suche nvmber and suche stawre,
and never was sene before.
what wolde ye any more?
the ingresse was never more:
thus gothe the woyse and rawre,
and trewth it ys in dede;
for all men now Doo brede,
that cane chache any lande
owtt of the powre menes hande.
for whoe is soe grett a grosier
as the lorde and the laweer?
for every Drawyng Daye
the bocher more most paye
for his fattyng ware,
and to be the more Redyer
a nother tyme to craue,
when he more shepe wolde haue;
and to elywatte the pryce,
Sume-whatt he most rysse,
with a synke or a syssce;
Soo that the bocher cane not spare—
Towardis his charges and is fare—
to sell the vere carchasse bare
vnder xij^{ses} or a marke,
wiche is a pytyfull werke!
be-syde the offall and the flice;
The flice and the fell,
thus he dothe it selle.
A-las! A-las! A-las!
this is a pitywous chasse!
Whatt powre man nowe is abell
to haue mette one is tabell?
ane oxe at fyve pownde—

yf he be any thing rownde,—
or elles come not in the grownde,
Suche labore for to waste:
this is the new caste,
the new cast frome the olde;
this commen price thay holde!
wiche is a were rewthe,
yf men myght saye the trwth.
youre pourmen thus Doo saye:
yf thaye haue it, thows thay paye.
vox populi vox dei:
O most nobell kynge,
Consyder well this thynge!

. . . . . .

4

And yett not lowng agoo
was prechares one or tooe
that spake it plene enowgh
To yow, to yow, and to yowe,
"that it was reght tyme to repente
this develysche in-tente,
of covitis the convente."
frome skottland into Kente
this precheng was be-sprent;
and frome the est frunt
vnto saynt mychelles montte,
this sayeng Did surmownte
a-brode to all menes heres,
and to youre grasys peres:
that frome pyllyr to post,
the powr man he was toste;
I mene the laboreng man,
I mene the husbande man,
I mene the plowghe man,
I mene the handy-craft man,
I mene the vy[tay]lyng man,
and also the gud yoman,

that some tyme in this realme
hade plente of key and creme,
butter, egges, and chesse,
hony, vax, and besse;
but now, a-lacke! a-lacke!
all thes men gowe to wrake,
that are the bodye and staye
of youre grasis realme alwaye.
al-waye and at lenght
they most be youre strenght,
youre strenght and your teme
for to defende youre realme.
Then yf thes men appall,
and lack when ye doe call,
Wiche waye maye youe, or shall,
Resyst youre enymes all,
thet over ragynge stremes
wyll wadde frome foren realmes?
for me to make Iudiciall,
This matter ys to mysticall.
Iuge yowe, my lordes for me, ye shall;
youres ys the charge that governes all,
for, 'vox populi' me they call,
that maketh but reersall
de parvum, but not De totall,
de locis, but not locall;
Therfore ye most not blame
the wyght that wrott the same;
for the comenes of this Lande
hath sone this in there sande,
plowghyng it with ther hande.
I fonde it where I stonnde,
And I ame but the hayne
that wrythe new agayne
The copy, for to see,
that also lerneth me
to take there-by good hede
my shepe howe for to fede;

for I a sheparde ame,
A sory powre man;
Yett wolde I wysche, my lordes,
this myght be youre recordies,
and make of it nowe Dreme;
for it ys a worthey realme;
a reme that in tymes paste
hath made the prowdes a-gaste.
and now, my lordes all,
note this in especiall,
and haue it in memoryall
with youre wysse vnyversall,
that nether [for] faver nor effection,
yowe grawnt youre protection
to suche as hath by election,
[who] shall rewle by erection,
and Doth gett the perfection
of the powre menes refection,
wiche ys a grett innormyte
vnto youre grasys commynalte.
for thay that of latt did supe
owtt of an aschyn cuppe,
are wonderfully sprowng vpe:
That nowght was worth of latt,
Hath now a cubborde of platt,
his tabell furnyscheyd tooe
with platt be-sett I-nowe,
parsell gylte and sownde,
Well worth two hundred pound.
with castinge cownteres and ther pen,
Thes are the vpstart gentylmen;
thes are thay that Dewowre
all the goodes of the pawre,
And makes them dotysche Davys,
vnder the cowler of the kenges lawys.
and yett an nother decaye
to youre grasys Seetes alwaye:
for the statte of all yowre marchant men

vndo moste parte of yowre gentyll men,
and wrape them in suche bandes
that they haue halle ther landes,
and payeth but halfe in hande
tyll thay more vnderstownde
of the profett of there lande;
and for the other halfe
He shalbe made a calfe,
excepte he haue gud frendes,
wiche well cane waye bothe endes;
and yet with frendes tooe
he shall haue myche to Doe:
wiche ys a grett innormyte
to youre grasys regallyte.
lett marchant men goe sayle,
for that ys ther trwe waylle;
for of one C. ye haue not ten
that now be marchantes ventring men,
that occupi grett in-awnderes
forther then into flanderes,—
flawnderes or in-to france—
for fere of some myschance,
but lyeth at home, and standes
by morgage and purchasse of landes
Owtt of all gentyll menes Handes,
wiche showld serve alwaye your grace
with horse and men in chasse:
wiche ys a grett dewowre
vnto youre regall pawre.
what presydente cane they shewe
that fowre skore yeres agooe,
that any marchant here,
A-bove all charges clere,
In landes myght lett to hyre
too thowsant markes by yere?
other, where shall ye fynde
a gentyll man by kynde,
but that thay wyll ly in the wynde
to breng hyme fer be-hynde?

Or elles thay wyll haue all,
yf nedes thay hyme for-stall,
wiche ys the hole Decaye
of your marchant men, I saye,
and hynderes youre grasys costome
by the yere a thowsant pawnde,
And so marryth—the more petye—
the comon welth of yche Sytte,
and vndoth the cowntre,
as prosse doth make propertie:
this matter most spesyally
wolde be loked one quiclye.
yett for ther recreation
in pastime and procreation,
in tempore nesessitatis,
I wysche thay myght haue grattis
lysenes to compownde,
To purchasse fortie pownde,
or fyfte, at the moste,
by fyne or wrytte of post.
and yf any marchant man—
to lyve his occupieng then—
wolde purchasse any more;
lett hyme forfett it therfore.
then showlde ye se the trade
that marchant men frist mayde,
whyche wysse men marshall
for a welth vnyversall,
yche man this lawe to lerne,
and trewly his goodes to ywr[n]e:
the landlord with his terme,
the plowght man with his ferme,
the kneght wyth his fare,
the marchant with his ware;
then showld increse the helth
of yche comon welthe.
therfore be not yow wrothe
for tellyng of the trothe;

for I dooe here it eviry daye,
howe the comones thus doe saye:
yf thaye hade it, thay wolde paye.
vox populi, vox dei:
O most nobell kynge,
Consyder well this thing!

5

But howe, Robyn! howe!
wiche waye dothe the wynde blowe?
Herke! herke! herke!
ys not this a pityvis warke,
the grounde and the pithe
off all this myscheffe?
for oure covitis lordes
dothe mynde noe other Recordes
but framyng fynes for fermes,
with to myche, as some termes,
with rentes and remaynderes,
with Surwaye and Surrenderes,
with commones and common Ingenderes,
with inclosieres and extenderes,
with hurd-vpe, but noe spenderes:
for a comon welth,
this is a vere stelth.
prove it whowe shall,
to make there of triall,
thus gowthe there Diall:
I knowe not what[s] a cloke
but by the cowntre coke,
the mone ner yett the prime,
wntyll the sowne dooe shyne
or elles I colde tyll
Howe all thinges showld be well.
the compas maye stande a-wrye,
but the card wyll nott lye.
Haale in your mayne shete!
this tempeste is to grett;

for pawre men Dayly sees
how officers takes their fees,
Sume yll, and some yet worse;
as good right as to pike there purse!
Deservethe this not godes curse?
there consyenes ys sooe grett,
theye fere not to dischare
yf it were as mvche more,
Soe thay maye haue the stowre.
thus is oure we[l] the vndone
by synguler commodome,
for we are in dyvision
bothe for reght and religion;
and as some saythe,
we stagger in our faythe.
but excepte in shortt tyme
we drawe by one lyne,
and agre with one accorde,—
bothe the plowgh-man and the lorde,—
we shall sore Rewe
that ever this statte we knewe.
the commones thus doth saye,
yf thaye hade it thay wolde paye.
vox populi vox dei:
O most nobell kenge,
Consider well this thing!

6

Thus Runnys the rwmer abowtt
A-mownges the holle rowtt:
thay cane nott bryng a-bowtt
[how this thyng shuld be,]
hit hathe suche hight Degree:
the cowne it ys soo skantt
That every man dothe wantt,
and some thynke not soo skarese,
but even as mvch to basse.
your marchant men doe saye,

thaye fynde it daye by daye
to be a matter strange,
when thay showld make exc[h]ange
one thother syde the see,
thay are dryven to there plee.
for were oure pounde some tyme
was better then theres by nene,
now oures, when it commythe forthe,
no better then theres is worthe,
noe, nor skant sooe gude:
they Saye so, by the roode.
how may the merchant man
be able to occupye then,
exept, when he comes here,
he sell his ware to Dyre?
he needes must haue a lyvinge,
or elles, fye one the wyning!
this Coyne by alteracyon
hathe brought this Desolacion,
which is not yet all knowen,
what myschiff it hath sowen.
they saye, "wo worthe that man
that fyrst that Coyne began,
to putt in anye heade
the mynde to Suche a reed,
to come to suche a hiere
for covites Desyre!"
I knowe not what it menythe;
but thus thay saye and dremethe,
ve ille per quem skandalum venit!
but this wyll axe graett pene
be-for it be well agayne,
graett pene and sore
to make this as [it] was before.
youre commones thus Doe saye,
yf thay hade it, thay wolde paye.
vox populi, vox Dei:
O most nobell kenge,
Consyder well this thinge!

7

This matter is to trewe,
that many a man Dothe rewe
thesse sowrowes doe in-sewe;
for, pawre men, thay doe crye,
and saye it ys a-wrye;
thay saye thay cannott be herde,
but styll from Daye to [daye] Differed;
when thay haue any swtte,
they may gowe blowe ther flwtt;
thus gothe the comon brewtt.
the riche man wyll come in,
for he ys sure to wyne,
for he cane make is waye,
With hand in hande to paye,
bothe to thycke and thyne:
or elles, to knowe the[ir] plesure,
my lorde is not at lesure:
the pawre man at the dur
standes lyke an yslande cur,
and Darre not ones sture,
excepet he gowe is waye
and come another Daye;
and then the matter ys mayde,
that the powre man withe his spade
mvst no more his ferme in-wayde,
but most gowe vse some other trade;
for it ys soe agreyd,
that my ladey, maisteres mede,
shall hyme expulse with all spede,
an our maister the landlord
shall haue it all att his accorde,
his howsse and ferme agayne,
to make there-of his vttmost gayne;
for is wantage wylbe more,
with shepe and cattell it to store,
and not to plowgh his ground no more,
except the fermer wyll arere

the rente hyer by a holle yere.
yett mvst he haue a fyne, toe,
the bargayne he may the [better] knowe;
wiche maketh the markett now soe Dere
That there bye fewe that makes good chere
for the fermer most sell his gosse,
as he maye be abell to paye for his howse;
or elles, for non payeng the rente,
a-voyde at oure laydye daye in lent:
thus the pawre man shalbe shente;
and then he and his wyffe
with there chilldren, all there lyfe,
Dothe crye owtt and ban
vppon this corsede covitys man.
I swere, by god omnipotent,
I fere that this presydent
wyll make ws all for to [be] shent!
trowe yow, my lordes that be,
that god doth nott see
this ryche manys charyte
per speculum Inigmate?
yes, [y]es, yowe ryche lordes!
hitt is wrytten in christes recordes
that divis lay in the fyre
with belsabube his Syrre;
and pawper, he a-bowe satt
In the Sett of abrames lape,
and was taken frome this troye
to lyve allwaye with god in yoiye.
yowr comones thus do saye;
yf thay hade it, thay wold paye:
vox populi, vox Dei:
O most nobell kenge,
Consyder well this thing!

8

The prayse no lesse ys worthe,
goddes worde is well sett forth;

hitt never was more preched,
ner never so playnely techede;
hitt never was soe halloed,
nor never soe lyttell fowloed
both of hyght and lawe,
as many a man dothe knowe.
for this ys playne perskrypsyon,
we haue banyschyd superstysyon,
but styll we kepe ambysyon;
we haue showtt awaye all cloystrees,
but styll we kepe extorsynares;
we haue taken there landes for ther abbwese,
but we haue convertyd theme to a worse vse.
yf this talle be noe lye,
my lordes, this gothe a-wrye:
a-wrye, a-wrye, ye gooe,
with many thenges mooe,
quytt frome the kenges hy-waye!
the commones thus Doe saye,
yf thay hade it, thay wold paye.
vox populi, vox Dei:
O most nobell keng,
Consyder well this thyng!

. . . . . .

8. EXTRACT FROM WILLIAM FORREST'S "THE PLEASAUNT POESYE OF PRINCELIE PRACTISE," 1548.

[England in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, Part I., ed. S. J. Herrtage (E.E.T.S., 1878), pp. xciv-xcix.]

. . . Moste worthie it is A kynge to excell,
in honowre, richesse and glorye decorate:
Lordys (in degre) in woorthynes to dwell,
withe Gentyls also as sittethe their estate:
and they to the meane to communycate,
that theye maye lyue, bothe Childrene and wife:
and them not to streyne by meanys excessife.

The Pooreman to toyle for twoe pense the Daye,
some while thre haulfe pense, or els a penye :
hauynge wief, childrene and howse rent to paye :
meate, clothe and fewell withe the same to bye,
and muche oother thinges that bee necessarye,
withe manye a hungrye meale susteynynge :
Alas ! makethe not this a doolefull compleynynge ?

The worlde is chaunged from that it hathe beene,
not to the bettre but to the warsse farre :
more for a penye wee haue before seene
then nowe for fowre pense, whoe liste to compare.
This suethe the game called makinge or marre.
Vnto the Riche it makethe a great deale,
but muche it marrethe to the Commune weale.

Too reyse his Rent alas it neadeth not,
or fyne texacte for teanure of the same
fowre folde dooble, it is a shrewde blot :
to the greate hynderaunce of some mennys name,
I knowe this to bee true, els weare I to blame
To mooue this mateir in this present booke :
at whiche Respublica lookethe a-crooke.

A Rent to reyse from twentie to fiftie,
of Powndis (I meane,) or shealingis whither :
ffynynge for the same vnreasonablye,
sixe tymes the Rent ; adde this togither,
muste not the same great Dearthe bringe hither ?
for if the ffermoure paye fowrefolde dooble Rent,
he muste his ware neadys sell after that stent.

So for that Oxe, whiche hathe beene the like solde
for ffortie shealingis, nowe takethe hee fyue pownde :
yea, seauyn is more, I haue herde it so tolde.
hee cannot els lyue, so deeare is his grownde,
Sheepe, thoughe they neauer so plentie abownde,
suche price they beare, whiche shame is here to tell,
that scace the pooareman can bye a morsell.

Twoe pense (in Beeif) hee cannot haue serued,
other in Mutton, the price is so hye :
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued :
so goethe hee and his to bedde hungrelye,
and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie ;
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white englisch skyn,
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn.

Wheare they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy and stowte,
to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate,
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte,
as hitherto manlye they holde the chief seate ;
if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,
I wisse, O kynge, they in penurye thus pende
shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rooats,
by water, herbys or suche beggerye baggage,
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis :
geeue Englische men meate after their olde vsage,
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :
they shall defende this owre noble Englande.

. . . . . .

Too saye howe ydlenesse maye bee expellyd,
and this owre Royalme enriched by the same,
somewhat thearto all-readye is tellyd :
for the reasydue wee shall nowe heere frame.
Woolle is the thinge wee will steye on, by name,
thoughe oother thinges moe geauithe assistence :
yeat woolle (for this tyme) shall haue preamynence.

The Woolle that Staplelers dothe gather and packe,
owte of this Royalme to Cowntreys forayne :
bee it reuoked and steyed abacke,
that owre Cloathiers the same maye retayne,
all kynde of woorkefolkes heere to ordayne,
vppon the same to exercise their feate :
by tuckynge, cardinge, spynnynge, and to beate,

Weauynge, fullinge, withe Dyinge (if theye liste)
and what sorte els to Cloathinge dothe belonge :
by suche true handelinge that nothinge bee myste,
whiche myght chalenge their woorkinge to bee wronge ;
that whearsoeuer they shall come emonge,
thorowe Christendome or heathenes growndе :
no fawte theare bee in the Woorkemanshippe fownde.

Shrynked befoare and perfected at full,
gaged and sealed iustelye as it is :
if it bee fawtie in woorkinge or in wooll,
owre foalkes to weare them, I gree beste to this,
rather than straungers sholde fynde vs amysse,
for owre false dealinge owre Cowntrey tappeache :
what the Salys-man is the ware ofte dothe teache.

No Towne in Englande, Village or Burrowe,
but thus withe Cloathinge to bee occupied :
thoughe not in eache place cloathinge cleane throwe :
but as the Towne is, their parte so applied ;
Heere Spynners, heere weyuers, theare cloathes to be died,
withe fullers and shearers as bee thought beste :
as the Cloathier maye haue his Cloathe dreste.

When they haue groaced vnto a some,
of scoarys or hundredis as they appoynte shall
owre Englische Merchauntes by custome to come,
and them receaue to ouer withe all ;
or, bee they fechte bye greement speciall,
by forayne Merchauntes as they haue agreede :
Moneye receaued ; god geeue them goode speede.

Heere is not meaned the kinges maiestee
his Custome to loase or thearof wone Joate
that heeretofore accustomed hathe bee :
but hee to haue still the vttremuste groate ;
Befoare they hense passe by Shippinge a-floate.
the Cloathes knowne what of a Packe dothe come ;
and thearto accordinge to paye Custome.

Withe all other dueties in eauerye place,
both vnto his grace and oother also :
as of conuenyence sittithe the case :
wee will by no meanys theare againste go.
but heere this peece wee shall adde nowe vnto,
whiche withe Conscience is muche agreable,
That Woolle maye bee at a price reasonable.

The leaste price to bee (the Todde accowntinge)
not vndre Ten shelinges (beeing no reffuse) :
The beste ffyuetene shealinges not surmowntinge :
betwene theise pricis Conuention to vse.
Theise pricis to lymyte let noman muse,
it hathe beene so seene att within twentie yearis :
and so maye agayne withe helpe of owre hedde pearis.

But heere liethe a mateir muche Difficulte,
whiche greatlie I feare neauer to take force,
thoughe I with manye sholde thearin consulte,
and crye theare vppon eauyn till wee weare horse.
Pryuate Commodye withe Commone wealthe to scorse :[1]
as Rentis to come downe from owterage so hye
too Price indifferent to helpe manye bye.

Theis raginge Rentis muste bee loked vppon,
and brought vnto tholde accustomed Rente,
as they weare let att ffortie yearis agone :
then shalbe plentie and moste men content,
thoughe greate Possessioners liste not tassent :
Yeate, bettre it weare their Rentis to bringe vndre,
then Thowsandis Thowsandis to perische for hungre.

In whiche youre highnes this ordre maye take,
discreit men of youre cownsell too assigne
that wilbee corrupted for no mannys sake :
and theye withe helpe their endeuer tenclyne,
ouer youre Royalme wheare this is owte of lyne.
Growndis and ffermys to peruse and surueye :
Rentis to reforme that bee owte of the weye.

[1] Bargain, exchange.

And as their Wisedoms (withe Conscience) shall see
(the soyle consydered, barrayne or fertyle),
the Owners (by them) ordered too bee
their Rentis tabate, enhaunced so longe while.
Pryuate Commodye to put to exile,
ratynge the same indifferentlie so:
the ffermers to lyue and by them oother moe.

Not in thraldome and pynchinge penurye,
to bee as drudges vnto their landelordis;
but as yeomen becomethe honestlye,
and of Goddys lawe conuenyatethe the conchordis.
at too mucho bondage Englische hartis remordis.
for what kinge heere will lyue honorablye,
hee muste then make of Englande Yeomanrye.

Ffor they (all men knowethe) are the maior parte,
whiche by all lawes ought to bee seene vntoo
speciallye withe moste intentife harte:
sithe they for their princis their daylie labour doo,
the myndis of whome they can no bettre woo,
(to lyue and dye in furderinge their enquestis)
then to see mayntened their olde enterestis.

Suche poore lyuynges as their fathers dyd enioye,
meanly to lyue their lyues to contynue.
Alas, a pooreman it greatlie dothe annoye:
when hee for a lyuynge shall eauermore sue,
and withe non assuraunce hym-selfe can indue,
Custome nor Copie can keepe hym In seace:
if fawnynge ffyne attemptethe his lordis grace.

. . . . . .

Ffor what is it in fferme or Copye holde,
or oother semblable habitation,
owte of the same to bee bought and solde
for lucres sake to the lordis contentation?
the sealye Pooreman by suche euasion
withe wief and children so forced to go begge
so they maye profite they passe not an egge.

Anoother disordre of oppression,
aduerte this wone whiche is muche odyous.
A lorde geauyn to pryuate affection,
lettinge the pooareman an olde rotten howse,
which hathe (to the same) profyttes commodious
As Cloase, and Common, with Lande in the feelde:
but noate well heere howe the pooareman is peelde.

The howse shall hee haue and A gardeyne plott,
but stonde hee muste to the reperation:
Close, Comon, or Londe fallithe none to his lott;
that beste myght helpe to his sustentation.
the whoale Rente payethe hee for his habitation,
as thoughe hee dyd thappurtenauncis possesse.
such soare oppression neadethe speadye redresse.

Thoughe some will obiecte hee is the more Asse
so to bargayne to bringe hym in thraldome:
hee can none otherwise bringe it to passe:
els muste hee paye largele for his Income.
To settle hym selfe place muste hee haue some;
his wief and childrene in like maner wise,
Whoe for pure penurye, ofte waterethe their iyse.

. . . . . .

Off this this tyme I will nomore entreate,
by wone woorde the wise perceaue can the whoale;
I doo this mateir but roughlye heere beate:
the disposition, partelye and soale,
O noble kynge, belongethe to youre doale,
as to perceaue the Comonwealthes noyaunce
and for the same to deuise ordynaunce.

So that the Pooare bee eauer seene vntoe,
the Riche hym selfe will sure saue harmelesse.
A little hynderaunce the poore dothe vndoe
and can no remedye againste distresse
but still susteynethe all busynesse,
Thoughe Drudges muste bee, yeat Christian loue wolde
that iuste rewarde redownde to them sholde.

Too Thresche alldaye for peanye haulfe-peanye,
and Delue in diches upp to the harde kneeis
for like valure, howe can hee lyue thearbye?
God wote it risethe but to a small ffeeis,
with that he laiethe vpp hee maye well bye Beeis,
and after go begge when Age on hym dothe fall:
for noughtes can he saue to helpe hym then with all.

. . . . . .

So ordre that eache doinge their labour
iustelie and trulie withe moste diligence,
may bee worthe them and theirs to succour,
fyndinge them selfes on shorteste daies sexpence,
And oother lengre, as the Soone takethe ascense,
seauyn or eight pense; so shall they bee able
meanlye to lyue, and mayntayne their Cradle.

And Townes let downe to grase Sheape vppon,
withe dwellinge howses, as fermys and Abbeyes,
reduced agayne to habitation,
for lack of which muche lyuynges nowe decayes
and dothe great hynderaunce as this wone waies.
Thowsandis thear bee that right gladlie wolde wedde
if they had holdinges to coauer their hedde.

Of Journeyemen and Seruyngemen also,
withe oother dyuerse of oure owne nation
that nowe a roauynge in oothers growndis go,
to this Royalmys great depopulation;
At whiche the heauyns maketh exclamation,
burdeynynge your grace by othe that yee haue take
of this, as yee can, redresse withe speede to make.

9. EXTRACT FROM LEVER'S SERMON AT PAUL'S CROSS, 14 Dec., 1550.

[Thomas Lever, M. A., Sermons (1550), ed. E. Arber (English Reprints, 1871), pp. 127-31.]

There is as yet more styffe necked stubburnes, dieuellysh disobedience, and gredye couetousnes in one of you of the commune sorte that kepeth thys greate swellynge in the hearte, hauyng no occasion to sette it furth in exercise, then is in ten of the worst of theim that, beynge in office and aucthoritye, haue manye occasions to open and shewe them selues what they be.

When dyd euer anye offycers in authorytye shewe suche rebellyous proud myndes, as was of late playnlye perceyued in very manye of the communaltye? I put the case that they be so couetouse, that one of their gredi guts had swalowed vp a whole Abbey, house, landes and goodes, And yf you had powers vnto your wylles, ye had deuoured whole countryes, houses and goodes, men and beastes, corne and cattell, as ye dyd begynne.

Some of theim kepeth their fermes in theyr owne handes, and manye of you kepe your owne Corne in youre owne barnes. Yea marrye, why should we not kepe oure corne in oure owne barnes? Forsooth, ye nowe maye not keepe it for dreede of God, obedience to the Kynges maiestie, and pitie of your poore neighbours: For God sayeth: *Qui abscondit frumenta, maledicetur in populis: benedictio autem super caput uendencium:* He that hydeth vp corne, shall be accursed amongest the people: but blessynge shal be vpon theyr heades that bryngeth it furth to the Markettes to sell. Here ye heare the blessynge and curse of God.

Ye knowe the kynges gracious Proclamacyon, ye maye perceyue youre neyghbours neede, by theyr myserable complaynt. And yet neyther God by blessyng and cursynge, neither the kyng by proclamacion and commission, nether the pore by praiyng and paying can cause you to serue the Markets wyth corne. But let goddes woorde, the Kynges lawes, honest order, and charytable prouysyon be put foorth of all markette townes by wycked Mammon, and let hym onely kepe the Markets and set pryses for youre purposes, and wythoute doubte euerye market

shalbe ful of all manner of Corne and vytayles commyng in on al sydes.

O wycked seruauntes of Mammon, alwayes bothe ennemyes and traytoures to God and the kyng and the common wealthe. Is it God or Mammon that hath made the Corne to sprynge, and geuen you plentye? Yf ye say Mammon, then ye confesse playnely whose seruauntes ye be, what Idolatrye ye vse. If ye say God, How dare ye confesse him in youre woordes and denye hym in youre deedes? Whye do ye not brynge foorth goddes corne vnto goddes people, at goddes commaundement? Why be ye not faythfull disposers of Goddes treasures? Well, he that hath no corn thinketh he hath no parte, nor is not gyltye in this matter: but I can tel that ther is many of theim, that neither hath nor wyll haue corne, whyche make corne most dere. I haue heard howe that euen this last yere, ther was certayn Acres of corne growyng on the ground bought for viii. poundes: he that bought it for viii. sold it for x. He that gaue x. pounds, sold it to another aboue xii. poundes: and at last, he that caryed it of the ground payde xiiii. poundes. Lykewyse I hearde, that certayne quarters of malte were boughte after the pryce of iii. shyllynges iiii. pence a quarter to be delyuered in a certayn markette towne vpon a certayne daye. Thys bargayne was so oft bought and solde before the daye of delyueraunce came, that the same Malte was solde to hym that shoulde receyue it there and carrye it awaye after vi. *s.* a quarter. Looke and se howe muche a craftes man or anye other honeste man that muste spend corne in his house, by this maner of bargaynynge, payeth, and howe littel the housbande manne that tylleth the ground, and paieth the rent, receyueth: Then ye may se and perceyue it must needes be harde for eyther of theim to kepe a house, the cra[f]tes man payinge so muche, and the husbandman takynge so lytle.

There is a lyke maner of barganyng of them that be lease-mongers, for leasemongers make the tenaunts to paye so muche, and the landlord to take so little, that neither of them is wel able to kepe house. I heare say that within a few miles of London an honest gentleman did let his ground by lease vnto pore honest men after ii *s.* iiii *d.* an acar: then commeth a lese-

mounger, a thefe, an extorçioner, deceiuyng the tenaunts, bieth theyr leases, put theim from the groundes, and causeth them that haue it at hym nowe to paye after ix *s.*, or as I harde saye xix *s.* but I am ashamed to name so muche. How be it, couetous extorcioners be ashamed of no dede be it neuer so euyll. And as I hear say, ther be many lesemongers in London, that heyghthen the rent of bare houses: and as [with] corne landes, tenements and houses, so in al maner of wares, ther be such biers and sellers as cause the prouyders and makers of the wares to take so litle, and the occupiers of the wares too paye so muche, that neyther of theim both is able too lyue. All the Marchauntes of myschyefe that go betwixt the barke and the tree: Bytwixte the housband man that getteth the corne, and housholder that occupyeth Corne; betwix the Landlorde, that letteth fermes, and the tennauntes that dwell in fermes; And betwixt the craftes man that maketh, or the marchaunte that prouydeth wares, and other men that occupieth wares: I saye these marchauntes of mischiefe, commynge betwixte the barke and the tree, do make all thinges dere to the byers: and yet wonderfull vyle and of small pryce to many, that must nedes sett or sell that whyche is their owne honestlye come bye. These be far worse than anye other that hath bene mencyoned heretofore: for although benefyced men and offycers haue manye mennes liuynges, yet they do some mennes dutyes. But these haue euerye mannes lyuyng, and doo no mans duytye. For they haue that whyche is in dede the lyuynge of craftes men, Marchauntmenne, husbandmen, landelordes and tennauntes, and do neuer a one of these mens dutyes. These be ydle vacaboundes, lyuyng vpon other mens labours: these be named honest barginers, and be in dede craftye couetouse extorcioners. For they that be true marchauntemen to by and sell in dede, shoulde and doo prouyde great plentye and good chepe by honest byenge and sellynge of theyr wares. But these, hauynge the names of true marchauntes, and beyng in dede crafty theues, do make a scarsitye and dearth of all thynges that commeth through theyr handes.

Take awaye all marchauntmen from anye towne or cytye, and ye shall leaue almost no prouysyon of thinges that be necessarye. Take awaye leasmongers, regrators and all suche as by byinge

and sellynge make thyngs more dere, and when they be gone, all thyngs wylbe more plentye and better chepe. Now maye ye se who they be that make a greate dearth in a great plentye. For who is it, that heygtheneth the pryce of Corne? The housbandman that getteth plentye of corne by tyllynge of the grounde? No: the regrator that byeth corne to make it dere, growynge vpon the grownde. Who reyseth the rentes, ioyneth house to house, and heapeth fermes together? The Gentyll manne, that by geuynge of leases letteth forth hys own landes into other mennse handes? No, the leasemongers, that by selling leases byeth and bryngeth other mennes Landes into their own hands. Who maketh all manner of wares and marchandyses to be very dere? The marchaunt venterer, which with fayethfull dylygence to prouyde for the commune wealth caryeth furth suche thynges as maye well be spared, and bryngeth home suche wares as muste needes be occupyed in thys realme? No, the Marchant of myschyefe, that by craftye conueyaunce for his owne gayne, caryeth awaye such thinges as maye not be spared, and bryngeth agayne suche wares as are not nedefull. Take hede, you Marchauntes of London, that ye be not Marchauntes of myschyefe, conueying away to much old lead, wol, lether and such substanciall wares as wold set many Englyshmen to work, and do euery manne good seruyce, and bryngynge home sylkes and sables, cattayls, and folyshe fethers to fil the realm full of such baggage as wyll neuer do ryche or poore good and necessary seruyce. Be ye sure, if thys realme be rych, ye shall not nede to be poore; yf thys realme be poore, you shall not be able to kepe and enioy your ryches. Take hede than that your marchaundise be not a seruynge of folysh mens fansies, whyche wyll destroye the realme: but lette it be a prouydyng for honest discrete mens commodities, whych wyll be the vpholdyng and enrychyng of you and the whole realme.

10. "THE DECAYE OF ENGLAND ONLY BY THE GREAT MULTITUDE OF SHEPE," 1550-53.

[Four Supplications, 1529-1553 A.D., ed. F. J. Furnivall and J. Meadows Cowper (E.E.T.S., 1871), pp. 93-102.]

Certayne causes gathered together, wherin is shewed the decaye of England, only by the great multitude of shepe, to the vtter decay of houshold keping, mayntenaunce of men, dearth of corne, and other notable dyscommodityes, approued by syxe olde Prouerbes.

To the Kynges moste honorable Counsell, and the Lordes of the Parlayment house.

The fyrst Article and poynt, as we do thynke, it is great pyttye (so the will of God it were) that there is not corne ynough within this Realme of Englande, at all tymes necessary to certyfy and suffyce the Kynges subiectes for the space of one yere, two, or thre, yf there were no corne sowen in this Realme by the sayde space.

We do saye that the Kinges Maiestie, mercifully hearing the peticion of these his graces poore subiectes, maye at al tymes remedy it, when it shall please hys Maiestie, being for a common wealth for his graces subiectes, and to the greate encrease of this noble realme of England.

We saye, as reason doeth leade vs, that shepe and shepemasters doeth cause skantyte of corne, whiche we do thynke it maye be well approued, by reason of six prouerbes; for and yf all our lyuynges, and all our commodities, were diuyded in partes, by reason of the same syx prouerbes, we that be the Kynges Maiestyes poore subiectes do lose syx of our commodityes; then haue we thre losses, whiche make nyne; by reason of the same thre losses, we, the Kynges Magestyes subiectes, do lose the third part of our lyuinge; then haue we the tenth part, which we cal a remedy, beseching your noble grace to remedye when your Maiestye shall please.

As touchyng the fyrste prouerbe of the syx, we do thynke

The more shepe, the dearer is the woll.
The more shepe, the dearer is the motton.

The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.
The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.
The more shepe, the skanter is the whit meate.
The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.

In the fyrst prouerbe, the more shepe, the dearer is the woll. Our complaynt is for Oxford-shyre, Buckyngham-shyre, and Northampton-shyre; and as for all other shyres, we refer it to the playntyues.

We shal desyre you, and al other that reade and se the true ententes and meanynges of this our doinges, to pardon our ignoraunce; yet not withstandyng, we desyre you sumwhat to attender the premisses, seinge it is done, and put forth, for the commoditye of the Kinges Magesties realme, and for the welth of his graces poore subiectes.

In the sayde Oxford-shyre, Buckyngham-shyre, and Northhampton-shyre, there be many men of worshyp dwellyng within the sayde thre shyres, and hath great landes to lyue vpon, the which we praye to God to geue them ioye of, and well to occupye it. Many of these worshipful men sette no store, nor pryse, vpon the mayntenaunce of tyllage of theyr landes, as before tyme hath been vsed, neyther breadyng nor feadynge of catle, but many of them doeth kepe the most substaunce of theyr landes in theyr owne handes. And where tillage was wont to be, nowe is it stored wyth greate vmberment of shepe: and they that have great vmberment of shepe muste nedes haue greate store of woll, and we cannot thynke who shulde make the pryse of woll, but those that haue great plentye of shepe. And we do partly knowe that there be some dwellynge within these thre shyres, rather then they wyll sell theyr woll at a lowe pryse, they will kepe it a yere or twayne, and all to make it deare, and to kepe it a deare pryse. And by this meanes the fyrst prouerbe to be true: The more shepe, the dearer is the woll.

In the seconde prouerbe, as we do thynke; The more shepe, the dearer is the moton.

As by reason, the most substaunce of our feadynge was wont to be on beffe, and now it is on motton. And so many mouthes goith to motton, whiche causeth motton to be deare.

In the third prouerbe, as we do thinke: The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.

As by reason that breding and fedyng is not set by as it hath bene in tymes past; and where as shepe is kepte vpon the pasture groundes where breadyng and fedinge of beffes was wont to be kept, and now there is nothyng kept there but motton.

The fourth prouerbe: The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.

By reason tyllage is not vsed, occupyed, and mainteyned as it hath bene before tyme, but shepe kept vpon the grounde where tyllage was wont to be kept and mainteyned.

The v. prouerbe: The more shepe, the skanter is the weyte meate.

By reason tyllage is not vsed, occupyed, and maynteyned, nother mayntenaunce of houses and hospitalytye, where as catle was wont to be fede and brede; by reason of kepyng of catle shulde increase whyt meate; and now there is nothyng kept there but only shepe.

The syxte prouerbe: The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.

By reason cottages go downe in the contre, where as pultrye was wont to be breade and fedde, nowe there is nothyng kept there but shepe, which cause the egges to be solde for fower a penny.

Thus be the syx prouerbes true, as we do thynke, desyrynge you to geue hearynge vnto them, and that it may be wel amended, for the common welthe of the Kynges poore subiectes.

Then haue we thre losses, that maketh nyne.

The fyrst losse, as we do thinke, there is not so many plowes vsed, occupied and mainteyned within Oxforthshyre as was in Kynge Henry the Seuenth tyme, and sens hys fyrste comming there lacketh xl plowes; euery plough was able to kepe vi persons, downe lyinge and vprisynge in hys house, the whiche draweth to twelf score persons in Oxfordshyre.

And where that the sayde twelf score persons were wont to haue meate, drynke, rayment and wages, payinge skot and lot to God and to our Kyng, now there is nothyng kept there, but onlye shepe. Now these twelfscore persons had nede to haue liuing: whether shal they go? into Northhamptonshyre? and there is

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also the lyuinge of twelef score persons loste: whether shall then they goo? foorth from shyre to shyre, and to be scathered thus abrode, within the Kynges maiestyes Realme, where it shall please Almighty God; and for lacke of maisters, by compulsion dryuen, some of them to begge, and some to steale.

The seconde losse, as we do thinke: That there is neuer a plough of the xl plowes, but he is able to tyll and plowe to certifye syx persons, and euery ploughe to sell xxx quarters of grayne by the yeare, or els he can full yll paye syx, seuen, eyght poundt by the yeare. xl plowes, xxx quarters euery ploughe, draweth to two[1] hundreth quarters in Buckingham shyre, two hundreth quarters in Oxfordeshyre, and two cc quarters in Northampton shyre, and so forth from shyre to shyre in certayne shyres within the Kinges Maiesties Realme of Englande. What shall the twelf two hundreth quarters of corne do in Oxforth-shyre? we do thynke it wyll mainteyne the Kynges markettes, and sustayne the Kynges subiectes; and lykewyse in Buckyng-ham shyre, and also in Northampton shyre, and so from shyre to shyre, in certayne shyres wythin the Kynges Magesties Realme. Furthermore it is to be consydered what thys twelf hundreth quarters of corne is able to do within Oxfordshyre; it is able to certifye and suffyce xv score people by the yeare, bread and drynke, and allowe to euery person ij quarters of weate, and two quarters of malt, by the yere. Where as in the fyrst the hole lyuinge of twelf score persons, meate, and drynke, and rayment, vprysyng and downe lyinge, payinge skot and lot to our God, and to our Kyng; And the seconde losse, bread and drynke for xv score persons by the yeare; whiche the hole nombre draweth to v hundreth and xl persons in Oxforth shyre; and so in Buckyngham shyre, and so lykewyse in Northampton shyre, and so forth from shyre to shyre wythin the Kynges Maiestyes Realme.

And yf it be as we do think, that there be iiij score plowes in euery one of these shires les then there was, then is there the lyuyng lost of a thousand and iiij score persons in euerye one of these foresayde shyres. Thys is the seconde losse, as we do thynke, and call for remedy for it.

[1] This "two hundreth" must mean twelve hundred: 40 × 30 = 1200.

The thirde losse, as we do thinke: We do lose in the sayd thre shyres kepynge of household and hospitalitye, and maintayning of tyllage and houshold kepyng; we do lacke corne, and also lese our cattell; for where any householde is kept, there is kept kyne and calues; and of oure kine there commeth mylke, butter and chease; and all this doeth sustayne the Kynges Mayesties subiectes; and for thys we haue nothynge but shepe.

And furthermore, where housholdes be kept, there is hogges, pygges, and bakon, capons, hennes, duckes, egges, frute, and many other commodityes, that is necessary and nedefull to be had for the maintenaunce and lyuinge of the Kynges Maiesties poore subiectes to lyue by; and for that we haue nothyng but shepe. This is the thyrd losse.

The x is, which we do cal for remedy, and we desyre of God and the Kynges Maiestye, yf it shal please his Highnes to be so good and gracyous vnto his poore subiectes, that there might be in euery shyre and hundred as many plowes vsed, occupyed, and maynteyned, as many housholds kept, as was by king Henry the Seuenth tyme, fyrst commynge. And then vnfayned, as we do thynke, we sholde haue corne ynough, cattell ynough, and shepe ynough; then wil shepe and woll be in more mens handes; we shall haue also white meate ynough, and all thynges necessary. And thus Iesu preserue oure dreade soueraingne Lorde and Kynge!

As we do thynke, we haue two losses more that we haue not spoken. The firste losse is for lacke of houshold kepynge and mayntenaunce of tyllage. It is great decay to artyllary: for that do we reken that shepeherdes be but yll artchers. And as we do further thinke, it leseth the kings Maiesty in prouision for his noble housholdes, that is to saye, in wheat, malt, benes, mottons, veles, hay and otes, and pultry, and all maner suche prouisions that belongeth to hys Maiestyes housholde, as we do thynke, v thousande markes by the yeare with the left [*sic*? lest]. In a trial as we do thynke, yf it shuld please the Kynges Maiesties offycers to call in hys graces purueyers, and examyne them where they haue had within their tyme for his graces prouisions of his warres, and for his Maiestyes housholde, where as there

is nowe nothyng to be gotten: for they that kepe the sayde landes hath put the foresayde landes to pastures, [and] themself byeth all maner of grayne and corne to kepe theyr housholde with all.

Furthermore, yf it shall please the Kinges Highnes, and hys noble counsell, for to haue a further tryall of thys matter, and to assure it to be true, take al craftes men dwelling in cyties and townes, daye laborers that laboreth by water or by lande, cottygers and other housholders, refusyng none, but only them that hath al this aboundaunce, that is to saye, shepe or woll-masters, and inclosers, the lamentacions of the Kinges Maiestyes subiectes will make any true herted body to seke and call for remedy, whiche we beseche the Lorde to amende. Amen.

Furthermore, as we do thinke, this Realme doeth decaye by thys meanes: It is to vnderstande and [be] knowen that there is in England townes and villages to the nomber of fifty thousand and vpward, and for euery towne and vyllage—take them one with an other throughout all—there is one plowe decayed sens the fyrste yeare of the raigne of kynge Henry the Seuenth; And in som townes and vyllages all the hole towne decayed sens that time; and yf there be for euery towne and village one plough decayed, sens the first yeare of the raygne of kyng Henry the Seuenth, then is there decayed l thousande plowes and vpwarde.

The whiche l thousande plowes, euerye ploughe were able to mainteine vi persons: that is to saye, the man, the wyfe, and fower other in his house, lesse and more. l thousande plowes, six persons to euery plough, draweth to the nomber of thre hundred thousand persons were wont to haue meate, drynke, and rayment, vprysing and down lyinge, paying skot and lot to God, and to the Kyng. And now they haue nothynge, but goeth about in England from dore to dore, and axe theyr almose for Goddes sake. And because they will not begge, some of them doeth steale, and then they be hanged, and thus the Realme doeth decay, and by none other wayes els, as we do thynke. Besechynge your Hyghnes (of your moste noble grace) and honourable lordshyppes, the premisses tenderly considered before you in examinacion vpon the premisses, that we may

haue a remedy in this behalf. And we shall dayely praye for the conseruacion of your Highnes, and for your ful noble lordshyppes.

11. CROWLEY ON THE CAUSES OF KET'S REBELLION, 1550.

[From The Way to Wealth, in Select Works of Robert Crowley, ed. J. M. Cowper (E.E.T.S., 1872), pp. 132-33, 142-46.]

The causes of Sedition muste be roted oute. If I shuld demaunde of the pore man of the contrey what thinge he thinketh to be the cause of Sedition, I know his answere. He woulde tel me that the great fermares, the grasiers, the riche buchares, the men of lawe, the marchauntes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who ; men that haue no name because they are doares in al thinges that ani gaine hangeth vpon. Men without conscience. Men vtterly voide of Goddes feare. Yea, men that liue as thoughe there were no God at all! Men that would haue all in their owne handes; men that would leaue nothyng for others ; men that would be alone on the earth; men that bee neuer satisfied. Cormerauntes, gredye gulles ; yea, men that would eate vp menne, women and chyldren, are the causes of Sedition! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leauie great (yea vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens! No custome, no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressyng vs in such sorte, that we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue. Very nede therefore constrayneth vs to stand vp agaynst them! In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciable beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these xii yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a

garden grownd fre from them. No remedye therfore, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought to the lyke slauery that the French men are in! These idle bealies wil deuour al that we shal get by our sore labour in our youth, and when we shal be old and impotent, then shal we be driuen to begge and craue of them that wyl not geue vs so muche as the crowmes that fall from their tables. Such is the pytie we se in them! Better it were therfore, for vs to dye lyke men, then after so great misery in youth to dye more miserably in age!

. . . . . .

Nowe if I should demaund of the gredie cormerauntes what thei thinke shuld be the cause of Sedition, they would saie:—'The paisant knaues be to welthy, prouender pricketh them! They knowe not them selues, they knowe no obedience, they regard no lawes, thei would haue no gentlemen, thei wold haue al men like themselues, they would haue al thinges commune! Thei would not haue vs maisters of that which is our owne! They wil appoint vs what rent we shal take for our groundes! We must not make the beste of oure owne! These are ioly felowes! Thei wil caste doune our parckes, and laie our pastures open! Thei wil haue the law in their own handes! They wil play the kinges! They wyll compel the kinge to graunt theyr requestes! But as they like their fare at the breakefaste they had this laste somer, so let them do againe. They haue ben metely well coled, and shalbe yet better coled if they quiet not them selues. We wyll tech them to know theyr betters. And because they wold haue al commone, we wil leaue them nothing. And if they once stirre againe, or do but once cluster togither, we wil hang them at their own dores! Shal we suffer the vilaines to disproue our doynges? No, we wil be lordes of our own and vse it as we shal thinke good!'

Oh good maisters, what shuld I cal you? You that haue no name, you that haue so many occupacions and trads that ther is no on name mete for you! You vngentle gentlemen! You churles chikens, I say! Geue me leue to make answere for the pore ideotes ouer whom ye triumphe in this sorte. And this one

thing I shal desire of you that ye report me not to be one that fauoureth their euel doinges (for I take God to witnes I hate boeth theyre euell doinges and youres also), but geue me leaue to tel you as frely of your faultes, as I haue alreadi told them of theires. And for asmuch as you be stronge and they weake, I shall desire you to beare with me, though I be more ernest in rebuking your faultes then I was in rebuking theirs.

True it is, the pore men (whom ye cal paisaunte knaues) haue deserued more then you can deuise to laie vpon them. And if euerye one of them were able and shoulde sustaine as much punishment as thei al were able to sustaine, yet could they not sustaine the plages that thei haue deserued. But yet, if their offence wer laied in an equall balaunce with yours (as no doubt thei are in the sight [of] God), doubt not but you should sone be ashamed of youre parte. For what can you laye vnto their charge, but they haue had examples of the same in you? If you charge them wyth disobedience, you were firste disobedient. For without a law to beare you, yea contrarie to the law which forbiddeth al maner of oppression and extortion, and that more is contrarie to conscience, the ground of al good lawes, ye enclosed frome the pore theire due commones, leauied greater fines then heretofore haue bene leauied, put them from the liberties (and in a maner enheritaunce) that they held by custome, and reised their rentes. Yea, when ther was a law ratified to the contrary, you ceased not to finde meanes either to compel your tenantes to consent to your desire in enclosinge, or else ye found such maistership that no man durste gaine say your doinges for feare of displeasure. And what obedience shewed you, when the kinges proclamations were sent forthe, and commissions directed for the laying open of your enclosures, and yet you lefte not of to enclose stil? Yea, what obedience was this which ye shewed at such time as the kinges moste honourable counsell, perceiueinge the grudginge that was emong the people, sent forth the second proclamation concerning your negligence, or rather contempte, in not laieinge open that which contrari to the good estatutes made in Parliament you had enclosed? It appeareth by your doinges that there was in you neither obedience to your prince and his laws, nor loue to your contrei. For if

there had ben obedience in you, you wold forthwith haue put al his laws in execution to the vttermost of youre power. And if you had loued your contrei, woulde you not haue preuented the great destruction that chaunced bi the reasone of your vnsaciable desire? I am sure you be not rulars in your contrey, but ye can se before what is likely to folowe vpon such oppression, and especiallye in a realme that hath hertofore had a noble and a valiaunte comminalti. But graunt ye were so beastish, yet haue you not lacked them that haue tolde you of it both by wordes and writtinges. You haue ben tolde of it I saye, and haue had the threatninges of God laied plainlye before your eies, wherein you must nedes se the vengeaunce of God hanging ouer your heades for your lacke of mercy. . . .

Well, I wyl burden you no more wyth youre faultes, leaste perhappes you can not wel beare them. But thys I shall saye vnto you:—You shall neuer the soner be gentlemen for your stout oppression, nor the later haue thynges in priuate for that ye let youre tenauntes lyue by you vpon theyre laboure. And thincke not to prospere the better in youre vnsatiable desyre, for that you tryumphe so lordelyke ouer the poore caytyfes, that, beynge seduced by the vayne hope of vyctorye promysed theym in piuyshe prophecies, haue greatly offended God by rebellion: for the greater their offence is, the greater shall your plage be when it commeth. For you haue bene the only cause of theyr offence. If he, therfore, that is the occasion of one mans fallyng vnto any kynd of vyce, were better haue a mylstone tied aboute hys necke and be cast into the depe sea wythall, what shalbe thought of you that haue bene the occasion of so many mens fallyng into so detestable synne and trespasse agaynste God, as to disturbe the whole estate of their contrei with the great perill and daunger of their anointed kyng in hys tender age, whose bloud (if he had perished) should haue bene required at your handes, as the bloud of al them that haue perished shal?

12. CROWLEY'S EPIGRAMS ON FORESTALLERS, LEASEMONGERS AND RENT RAISERS, 1550.

["One and Thirty Epigrammes," in Select Works of Robert Crowley, ed. J. M. Cowper (E.E.T.S., 1872), pp. 33, 40, 46.]

Of Forestallars.

The fryses of Walis to Brystowe are brought;
But before thei were wouen, in Walis they are bought;
So that nowe we do paye foure grotes, or els more,
For the fryse we haue bought for eyght pens heretofore.
And some saye the woule is bought ere it do growe,
And the corne long before it come to the mowe.
And one thyng there is that hurteth moste of all;
Reuersions of fermes are bought long ere they fall.
And ryght so are benifices in euery coaste,
So that persons and vicars kepe neyther sodde nor roste.
The pore of the paryshe, whome the person shoulde fede,
Can haue nought of oure tythis, to sucuoure theyr nede.
Reuersions of fermes are bought on ech syde;
And the olde tenant must pay well, if he wyll a byde.
And where the father payde a peny, and a capon or twayne,
The sonne muste paye ten pownde: [t]his passeth my brayne.
Well, let thes forestallars repent them bytyme,
Leste the clarke of the market be wyth them ere pryme.
For he, when he cometh, wyll punyshe them all,
That do any nedeful thynge ingrosse or forestall.
For well I wotte thys, when he went laste awaye,
He sent vs his seruaunt, and thus dyd he saye.
Se that emong you none seke his owne gayne,
But profyte ech other wyth trauayle and payne.

Of Leasemongers.

Of late a leasemongar of London laye sycke,
And thynckyng to dye, his conscience dyd him pricke.
Wherefore he sayde thus wyth hym selfe secretly,
'I wyll sende for a preachar, to knowe what remedy.'
But whilse he thus laye, he fell in a sloumber,

And sawe in his dreame pore folke a greate number,
Whoe sayde they had learned thys at the preachars hande,
To paye all wyth patience, that theyr landlordes demaunde.
For they for theyr sufferaunce, in such oppression,
Are promised rewarde in the resurrection.
Where such men as take leases them selues to aduaunce,
Are sure to haue hell by ryght inheritaunce.

Of Rente Raysers.

A Manne that had landes of tenne pounde by yere,
Surueyed the same, and lette it out deare;
So that of tenne pounde he made well a score
Moe poundes by the yere than other dyd before.
But when he was tolde whan [*sic*, what] daunger it was
To oppresse his tenauntes, he sayed he did not passe.
For thys thynge, he sayde, full certayne he wyste,
That wyth hys owne he myghte alwayes do as he lyste.
But immediatlye, I trowe, thys oppressoure fyl sicke
Of a voyce that he harde, 'geue accountes of thy baliwicke.'

13. PRAYER FOR LANDLORDS, 1553.

[From the Primer or Book of Private Prayer, . . . Authorised and set forth by order of King Edward VI. (1553). In The Two Liturgies . . . and other Documents . . . of King Edward VI. (Parker Soc., 1844), p. 458.]

The earth is thine, (O Lord), and all that is contained therein; nothwithstanding thou hast given the possession thereof unto the children of men, to pass over the time of their short pilgrimage in this vale of misery: We heartily pray thee, to send thy holy Spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds, pastures, and dwelling places of the earth, that they, remembering themselves to be thy tenants, may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so let them out to other, that the inhabitants thereof may both be able to pay the rents, and also honestly to live, to nourish their

families, and to relieve the poor: give them grace also to consider, that they are but strangers and pilgrims in this world, having here no dwelling place, but seeking one to come; that they, remembering the short continuance of their life, may be content with that that is sufficient, and not join house to house, nor couple land to land, to the impoverishment of other, but so behave themselves in letting out their tenements, lands, and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling places: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

14. TUSSER ON THE BENEFITS OF ENCLOSURE, 1573.

[Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie. By Thomas Tusser. The Edition of 1580 collated with those of 1573 and 1577. Ed. W. Payne and S. J. Herrtage (English Dialect Soc., 1878), pp. 140-46.]

A comparison betweene Champion countrie and seuerall.

Chap. 52.

1 The countrie enclosed I praise,
the tother delighteth not me;
For nothing the wealth it doth raise
to such as inferior be.
How both of them partly I knowe,
here somewhat I mind for to showe.

Champion. 2 There swineherd, that keepeth the hog,
there neatherd, with cur and his horne,
There shepherd, with whistle and dog,
be fence to the medowe and corne.
There horse, being tide on a balke,
is readie with theefe for to walke.

3 Where all thing in common doth rest,
corne field with the pasture and meade,
Though common ye doo for the best,
yet what doth it stand ye in steade?
There common as commoners vse,
for otherwise shalt thou not chuse.

4 What laier much better then there,
or cheaper (thereon to doe well?)
What drudgerie more any where,
lesse good thereof where can ye tell?
What gotten by Sommer is seene,
in Winter is eaten vp cleene.

5 Example by Leicester shire,
what soile can be better than that
For any thing hart can desire?
and yet doth it want ye see what:
Mast, couert, close pasture, and wood,
and other things needfull as good.

Enclosure. 6 All these doo enclosure bring,
experience teacheth no lesse,
I speake not to boast of the thing,
but onely a troth to expresse.
Example (if doubt ye doo make):
by Suffolke and Essex go take.

Severall. 7 More plentie of mutton and biefe,
corne, butter, and cheese of the best,
More wealth any where (to be briefe)
more people, more handsome and prest,
Where find ye (go search any coast)
than there, where enclosure is most?

8 More worke for the labouring man,
as well in the towne as the feeld:
Or thereof (deuise if ye can)
more profit, what countries doo yeeld?
More seldome where see ye the poore,
go begging from doore vnto doore?

Champion countrie. 9 In Norfolke behold the dispaire
of tillage too much to be borne:
By drouers from faire to faire,
and others destroieng the corne.
By custome and couetous pates,
by gaps, and by opening of gates.

10 What speake I of commoners by,
with drawing all after a line:
So noieng the corne, as it ly,
with cattle, with conies, and swine.
When thou hast bestowed thy cost,
looke halfe of the same to be lost.

11 The flocks of the Lords of the soile
do yeerly the winter corne wrong:
The same in a manner they spoile,
with feeding so lowe and so long.
And therefore that champion feeld
doth seldome good winter corne yeeld.

Champion noiances.

12 By Cambridge, a towne I doo knowe,
where many good husbands doo dwell;
Whose losses by losels doth showe,
more here than is needfull to tell:
Determine at Court what they shall,
performed is nothing at all.

13 The champion robbeth by night,
and prowleth and filcheth by day:
Himselfe and his beast, out of sight,
both spoileth and maketh away
Not onely thy grasse, but thy corne,
both after, and er it be shorne.

14 Pease bolt with thy pease he will haue,
his houshold to feede and his hog:
Now stealeth he, now will he craue,
and now will he coosen and cog.
In Bridewell a number be stript,
lesse worthie than theese to be whipt.

15 The oxboy as ill is as hee,
or worser, if worse may be found:
For spoiling from thine and from thee,
of grasse and of corne on the ground.
Laie neuer so well for to saue it,
by night or by daie, he will haue it.

16 What orchard vnrobbed escapes?
or pullet dare walke in their jet?
But homeward or outward (like apes)
they count it their owne they can get.
Lord, if ye doo take them, what sturs!
how hold they togither like burs!

17 For commons these commoners crie,
enclosing they may not abide:
Yet some be not able to bie
a cow with hir calfe by hir side,
Nor laie not to liue by their wurke,
but theeuishlie loiter and lurke.

18 The Lorde of the towne is to blame,
for these and for many faults mo.
For that he doth knowe of the same,
yet lets it vnpunished go.
Such Lords ill example doth giue,
where verlets and drabs so may liue.

19 What footpathes are made, and how brode!
annoiance too much to be borne:
With horse and with cattle what rode
is made thorow erie mans corne!
Where champions ruleth the roste,
there dailie disorder is moste.

20 Their sheepe when they driue for to wash,
how careles suche sheepe they doo guide!
The fermer they leaue in the lash,
with losses on euerie side.
Though any mans corne they doo bite,
they will not alow him a mite.

21 What hunting and hauking is there!
corne looking for sickle at hand:
Actes lawles to doo without feare,
how yeerlie togither they band.
More harme to another to doo,
than they would be done so vntoo.

22 More profit is quieter found
(where pastures in seuerall bee)
Of one seelie aker of ground,
than champion maketh of three.
Againe what a ioie is it knowne,
when men may be bold of their owne!

Champion. 23 The tone is commended for graine,
yet bread made of beanes they doo eate:
Seuerall. The tother for one loafe haue twaine,
of mastlin, of rie, or of wheate.
The champion liueth full bare,
when woodland full merrie doth fare.

Champion. 24 Tone giueth his corne in a darth
to horse, sheepe, and hog euery daie;
Seuerall. The tother giue cattle warme barth,
and feede them with strawe and with haie.
Corne spent of the tone so in vaine,
the tother doth sell to his gaine.

Champion. 25 Tone barefoote and ragged doth go,
and readie in winter to sterue:
Seuerall. When tother ye see doo not so,
but hath that is needfull to serue.
Tone paine in a cotage doth take,
when tother trim bowers doo make.

Champion. 26 Tone laieth for turfe and for sedge,
and hath it with woonderfull suit:
Seuerall. When tother in euerie hedge
hath plentie of fewell and fruit.
Euils twentie times worser than thease,
enclosure quickly would ease.

Seuerall. 27 In woodland the poore men that haue
scarse fully two akers of land,
More merily liue and doo saue,
than tother with twentie in hand.
Yet paie they as much for the twoo
as tother for twentie must doo.

28 The labourer comming from thence,
in woodland to worke any where,
(I warrant you) goeth not hence,
to worke anie more againe there.
If this same be true (as it is:)
why gather they nothing of this?

29 The poore at enclosing doo grutch,
because of abuses that fall,
Least some man should haue but too much,
and some againe nothing at all.
If order might therein be found,
what were to the seuerall ground?

15. HARRISON ON CHANGES IN HIS DAY, 1577-87.

[William Harrison, A Description of England, or a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people of England and such commodities as are to be found in the same. 2nd ed., 1587, ed. F. J. Furnivall (New Shakspere Society, Series VI., No. 1, 1877), pp. 238-43.]

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet, and for the most part, of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be latelie builded are commonlie either of bricke or hard stone, or both; their roomes large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron dooth often match in our daies with some honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did florish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old *Vitruuius*, *Leo Baptista*, and *Serlo*. Neuerthelesse, their estimation more than their greedie and seruile couetousnesse, ioined with a lingering humour, caused them to be often reiected,

and strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasters of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to passing delicacie: and herein I doo not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes, in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupbords, to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe dooth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkis worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth fiue or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts doo far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie the merchant all other; so in time past, the costlie furniture staied there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well) dooth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I speake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to shew that I do reioise rather, to see how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and whilest I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to most excessiue prices, and what commoditie so euer is to be had is dailie plucked from the communaltie by such as looke into euerie trade, we doo yet find the means to obtein and atchiue such furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpossible.

There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouslie altred in England within their sound remembrance; and

other three things are too too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, wheras in their yoong daies there were not aboue two or three, if so manie, in most vplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses and manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peraduenture some great personages) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a sheet, vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hop-harlots (I vse their owne termes), and a good round log vnder their heads in steed of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seuen yeares after his mariage purchased a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes (said they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie sheet aboue them, it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessell, as of treene platters into pewter, and woodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie, (if it so be iustly called) they were scarse able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horsse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vtter most by the yeare. Such also was their pouertie, that if some one od farmer or husbandman had beene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst six or seuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to shew

what store he had, did cast downe his pursse, and therein a noble or six shillings in siluer vnto them (for few such men then cared for gold, bicause it was not so readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell), it was verie likelie that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it: whereas in my time, although peraduenture foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date tree thinke his gaines verie small toward the end of his terme, if he haue not six or seuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in od vessell going about the house, three or foure featherbeds, so manie couerlids and carpets of tapistrie, a siluer salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast) and a dozen of spoones to furnish vp the sute. This also he taketh to be his owne cleere; for what stocke of monie soeuer he gathereth and laieth vp in all his yeares, it is often seene, that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he renueth his lease, which is commonlie eight or six yeares before the old be expired (sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuersion, and so defeat him out right), that it shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shaued it from his chin.

And as they commend these, so (beside the decaie of housekeeping whereby the poore haue beene relieued) they speake also of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhansing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppression of copiholders, whose lords seeke to bring their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, dailie deuising new meanes, and seeking vp all the old, how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now and then seuen times increasing their fines; driuing them also for euerie trifle to loose and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greatest part of the realme dooth stand and is mainteined), to the end they may fleece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Jewes, now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie,

that he is accompted but for a foole that dooth lend his monie for nothing. In time past it was *Sors pro sorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now, beside that which is aboue the principall properlie called *Vsura*, we chalenge *Fœnus*, that is, commoditie of soile, and fruits of the earth, if not the ground it selfe. In time past also, one of the hundred was much, from thence it rose vnto two, called in Latine *Vsura, Ex sextante;* three, to wit, *Ex quadrante;* then to foure, to wit, *Ex triente;* then to fiue, which is *Ex quincunce;* then to six, called *Ex semisse*, &c., as the accompt of the *Assis* ariseth, and comming at the last vnto *Vsura ex asse*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centesima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elsewhere. See *Cicero* against *Verres*, *Demosthenes* against *Aphobus*, and *Athenæus*, *lib.* 13. *in fine:* and when thou hast read them well, helpe I praie thee in lawfull maner to hang vp such as take *Centum pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge in conscience. Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they seeme (as it were) to eat them vp, and deale with bondmen; so that if the leassee be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am sorie to report it, much more greeued to vnderstand of the practise; but most sorowfull of all to vnderstand that men of great port and countenance are so farre from suffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themselues become grasiers, butchers, tanners, sheepmasters, woodmen, and *denique quod non*, thereby to inrich themselues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or feeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plausible shew, but when necessitie shal inforce, haue an heauie and bitter sequele.

16. HARRISON, "OF FAIRES AND MARKETS," 1577-87.

[*Ibid.*, pp. 294-303.]

Of faires and markets.

There are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weeklie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of prouision for houshold is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby, as it commeth to passe that no buier shall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his necessities, so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to seeke for the highest prices, which commonlie are neere vnto great cities, where round and speediest vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue beene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intended in them, as the benefit of the seller. Neither are the magistrats for the most part (as men loth to displease their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie) so carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they should bee. For in most of these markets, neither assises of bread, nor orders for goodnesse and sweetnesse of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whit looked vnto; but ech one suffered to sell or set vp what and how himselfe listeth: and this is one euident cause of dearth and scarsitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, sith it is rare to see in anie countrie towne (as I said) the assise of bread well kept according to the statute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honest poore man, whome the law of nations doo commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon some round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are so nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the same, there is

such headie ale and beere in most of them, as for the mightinesse thereof among such as seeke it out is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled conscience, after he had considered well of his reachlesse life, and dangerous estate: another, thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him straightwaie to the strongest ale, as to the next physician. It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did *Romulus* and *Remus* sucke their shee woolfe or sheepheards wife *Lupa*, with such eger and sharpe deuotion, as these men hale at hufcap, till they be red as cockes, and little wiser than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse? In returning therefore vnto my purpose, I find that in corne great abuse is dailie suffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, especiallie the poore artificer and householder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a bushell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: bicause bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne, doo not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be serued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well, I will saie yet a little more, and somewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmasse time poore men must make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretence of seed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, bicause one wheat often sowen without change of seed will soone decaie, and be conuerted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off, and where they be not knowne, promising there, if they happen to be espied (which, God wot, is verie seldome), to send so much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this shift serue not (neither dooth the fox vse alwaies one

tracke for feare of a snare); they will compound with some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of hufcap or merie go downe will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon some forged surmise; which being doone, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can doo any good for himselfe, so it is: if not, they will giue him somewhat for his paines at this time, and reserue him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders stumble vpon blind creekes at the sea coast, I wote not well; but that some haue so doone, and yet doo, vnder other mens wings, the case is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to serue a meane gentlemans house with corne, who hath cast vp all his tillage, bicause he boasteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape than he can sow his land, as the rich grasier often dooth also vpon the like deuise, bicause grasing requireth a smaller household and lesse attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a bushell or two for his expenses vnto the market crosse, answer is made; "Forsooth, here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it." And to saie the truth, these bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but "Let me see it, what shall I giue you? knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to such a chamber, and if you bring in twentie seme more in the weeke daie to such an Inne or sollar where laie my corne, I will haue it, and giue you [*blank*] pence or more in euerie bushell for six weekes day of paiment than an other will." Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, so that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouision in the markets, sith they will hardlie now adaies sell by the bushell, nor breake their measure; and so much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they saie) for so much ouer measure in a bushell, as the bodger will doo in a quarter. Naie, the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, bicause he prouideth altogither to serue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and insatiable desire of gaine, that the sale will be better in the market: so that he must giue two

pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house, than the last market craued, or else go without it, and sleepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common ca[r]iage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas, I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone, but needs must ioine other prouision withall, whereby not onelie our freends abroad, but also manie of our aduersaries and countriemen, the papists, are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth); but sith I see it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for need of monie, being readie peraduenture to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threshed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, so much as they could come by. Hencefoorth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an horsseload at the most, therby to be seene to keepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne waxeth deere; but it will be deerer the next market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be litle worth for this, and of better price in the next yeare. For they haue certeine superstitious obseruations, whereby they will giue a gesse at the sale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen doo vse commonlie for barleie, where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthewes daie; and for wheat, as it is sold in seed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flee southward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Ianuarie, and such other apish toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they shew themselues to be scant good christians: but what care they, so they may come by monie? Herevpon also will they thresh out three parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the summer, when new commeth apace to hand, and cast the same in the fourth vnthreshed, where it shall lie vntill the next spring, or

peraduenture till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not deintie to see mustie corne in manie [of] our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring foorth when the can keepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somwhat to abate the price, so a plague is not seldome ingendred thereby among the poorer sort, that of necessitie must buie the same, wherby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will seeme to haue but small store left in their barnes: for else they will gird their sheues by the band, and stacke it vp of new in lesse roome, to the end it may not onlie seeme lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their own price, then will they set it vp in some freends house, against another or the third daie, and not bring it foorth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be deerer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell, than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthie redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to see their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world also to see how most places of the realme are pestered with purueiours, who take vp egs, butter, cheese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c., in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, and suffer their wiues to sell the same in another, or to pulters of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonablie sold, and therevnto the crosses sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is augmented: whereas, when the

owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, and fewer of these butter buiers were stirring, or butter was scarslie woorth eighteene pence the gallon, that now is worth three shillings foure pence, and perhaps fiue shillings. Wherby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue: for one of them doo commonlie vse to out bid another. And whilest our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I neuer looke to see this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is euen inough, and more peradventure than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is, though some thinke it no trespasse. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a seuerall bushell; and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaie so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall be either too big or too little at their next comming, and yet not depart without a fee at the first: so that, what by their mending at one time, and empairing at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iust measures to be had in anie steed. It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vnconscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, and another to buie withall; the like is also in weights, and yet all sealed and bronded. Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be mooued in this land. Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the greedinesse of the appointed receiuers thereof), fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Wherby some peece of monie must needs passe vnto their purses to stop

their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the corne: "Thou art worthie to loose thy lease, &c." Or if it be cheaper in the market than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie, and no corne, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs indeuoureth to fleece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be looked vnto, and that is the recariage of graine from the same into lofts and sollars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie or clearke of the said market to make sale therof according to his discretion, without libertie to the farmer to set vp their corne in houses and chambers, I am persuaded that the prices of our graine would soone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one should keepe his next market with his graine, and not to run six, eight, ten, foureteene, or twentie miles from home, to sell his corne where he dooth find the highest price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurnished, I doo not thinke but that our markets would be farre better serued than at this present they are. Finallie, if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after haruest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some appointed and trustie person for that purpose, we should haue much more plentie of corne in our towne crosses than as yet is commonlie seene: bicause each one hideth and hoordeth what he may, vpon purpose either that it will be deerer, or that he shall haue some priuie veine by bodgers, who doo accustomablie so deale that the sea dooth load awaie no small part thereof into other countries and our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except some remedie be found. But what doo I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of bodgers, being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as feeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuerthelesse I speake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold, necessarie for man's vse; and there is our prouision made commonlie for all the weeke insuing. Therefore, as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the least, so there

are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare, assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lowse faire, or the common kirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire neere to Cambridge, Bristowe faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerse other, all which, or at leastwise the greatest part of them (to the the end I may with the more ease to the reader and lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my taske in their recitall), I haue set downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I borowed the same from *I. Stow*, and the reports of others.

17. BASTARD'S EPIGRAMS ON ENCLOSURES, 1598.

[From Chrestoleros, in The Poems, English and Latin, of the Rev. Thomas Bastard, M.A., ed. A. B. Grosart (1880), pp. 37, 49, 72.]

Book III., Epigr. 22. *Ad reginam Elizebetham.*

I Knowe where is a thiefe and long hath beene,
Which spoyleth euery place where he resortes:
He steales away both subiectes from the Queene,
And men from his owne country of all sortes.
Howses by three, and seauen, and ten he raseth,
To make the common gleabe, his priuate land:
Our country Cities cruell he defaceth,
The grasse grows greene where litle *Troy* did stand,
The forlorne father hanging downe his head,
His outcast company drawne vp and downe,
The pining labourer doth begge his bread,
The plowswayne seeks his dinner from the towne.
O Prince, the wrong is thine, for vnderstand,
Many such robbries will vndoe thy land.

Book IV., Epigr. 20.

Sheepe haue eate vp our medows and our downes,
Our corne, our wood, whole villages and townes.
Yea, they haue eate vp many wealthy men,
Besides widowes and Orphane childeren:
Besides our statutes and our iron lawes
Which they haue swallowed down into their maws.
  Till now I thought the prouerbe did but iest,
  Which said a blacke sheepe was a biting beast.

Book VI., Epigr. 8.

When the great Forests dwelling was so wide,
And carelesse wood grew fast by the fires side:
Then dogs did want the sheepherds field to keepe;
Now we want Foxes to consume our sheepe.

SECTION II.—INDUSTRY AND TRADE.

1. EVIL MAY DAY, 1517.

[Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII. by Edward Hall, ed. Charles Whibley (1904), Vol. I., pp. 153-62.]

In this ceason, the Genowayes, Frenchemen and other straungers sayde and boasted them selfes to be in suche favoure with the kyng and hys counsaill, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie, And the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the pore Englishe artificers coulde skace get any living; And most of all the straungers were so proude, that they disdained, mocked and oppressed the Englishemen, whiche was the beginning of the grudge. . . .

And for these and many other oppressions done by them, there encreased suche a malice in the English mennes hartes, that at the last it brast oute. For amongest other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called Jhon Lyncoln, whiche wrote a byll before Easter, desyryng doctor Standiche at hys Sermon at saint Marye Spyttell the Mondaye in Easter weke, too move the Mayre and Aldermen to take parte with the comminaltie agaynste the straungers. The Doctor aunswered that it became not hym too move anye suche thinge in a Sermon. From hym he departed, and came to a Chanon in sainct Mary Spittell, a doctor in Devinitie, called doctor Bele, and lamentably declared to hym, howe miserably the common artificers lyved, and skase coulde get any woorke to fynde them, their wyfes and chyldren, for there were such a number of artificers straungers, that tooke awaye all the lyvynge in maner. And also howe the Englyshe marchauntes could have no utteraunce, for the marchaunt straungers brynge in all Silkes,

clothes of Golde, Wyne, Oyle, Iron, and suche other marchaundyse, that no man almoste byeth of an Englyshman. And also outwarde, they carye so muche Englyshe Wolle, Tynne, and Leade, that Englyshmen that aventure outwarde can have no lyvyng; Whiche thynges, saied Lyncoln, hathe bene shewed to the counsaill, and cannot be heard. And farther sayed he, the straungers compasse the cytie rounde aboute, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, sayncte Martynes, Sayncte Jhons strete, Algate, Towre hyll, and Sainct Katherines, and forstall the market, so that no good thynge for them commeth to the market, Whiche is the cause that Englyshe men want and sterve, and they lyve habundauntly in great pleasure. Wherefore, sayed Lyncolne, master Doctor, syth you were borne in London, and se the oppression of the straungers, and the great misery of your awne natyve countrey, exhorte all the cytezens to joyne in one against these straungers, raveners and destroyers of your countrey. Master doctor, hearynge this, saied he muche lamented the case if it were as Lyncolne hadde declared. Yes, sayde Lyncolne, that it is and muche more, for the Duchemen bryng over Iron, Tymber, lether and Weynskot ready wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskettes, Cubbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, girdels, with pointes, sadelles and painted clothes, so that if it were wrought here, Englishemen might have some worke and lyvynge by it. And besyde this, they growe into suche a multitude that it is to be looked upon, for I sawe on a Sondaye this Lent vi. c. straungers shotyng at the Popyngaye with Crosbowes, and they kepe suche assemblies and fraternities together, and make suche a gathering to their common bore, that every botcher wil holde plee with the citie of London. Wel, sayd the doctor, I will do for a reformacion of this matter asmuche as a priest may do, and so receaved Lincolnes byll and studied for his purpose. Then Lyncoln, very joyous of hys enterpryce, went from man to man, saiyng that shortly they shoulde heare newes, and dayly excited younge people and artificers to beare malice to the straungers.

When Easter came and doctor Bele shoulde preache the Tuesdaye in Easter weke, he came into the pulpit and there

declared that to hym was brought a pitifull byll, and red in this wyse: To all you, the worshypfull lordes and masters of the cytie, that will take compassion over the pore people your neighbours, and also of the greate importable hurtes, losses and hynderaunces, whereof proceadeth the extreme povertie too all the kynges subjectes that inhabite within this cytie and suburbes of the same, for so it is that alyens and straungers eate the bread from the poore fatherles chyldren, and take the livynge from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchauntes, wherby povertie is so muche encreased that every man bewaileth the misery of other, for craftes men be brought to beggery and merchauntes to nedynes. Wherefore the premisses considered, the redresse muste be of the commons, knyt and unite to one parte, and as the hurt and dammage greveth all men, so muste all men set to their willyng power for remedy, and not to suffre the sayed alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region to come to confusion. Of this letter was more, but the doctor red no farther, and then he began *Coelum coeli domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum*, and upon this text he intreated that this lande was geven too Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte Englishemen to cheryshe and defende them selfes, and to hurte and greve aliens for the common weale. And upon this text, *pugna pro patria*, he brought in howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fyght for their countrey, and ever he subtellie moved the people to rebelle against the straungers, and breke the kynges peace, nothynge regardynge the league betwene prynces and the kynges honoure. Of thys Sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake agaynste straungers. And as the devell woulde, the Sunday after at Grenewyche in the kynges gallery was Fraunces de Bard, whiche as you hearde kept an Englishe mans wife and his goodes, and yet he could have no remedy, and with hym were Domyngo, Anthony Caveler, and many mo straungers, and there they, talkynge with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Jested and laughed howe that Fraunces kepte the Englishemans wyfe, saiyng that if they had the Mayres wyfe of London, they would kepe her. Syr Thomas sayed, Sirs, you have to muche favour in England. There were diverse Englishe merchauntes by, and

hearde them laugh, and were not content, in so muche as one William Colt, a Mercer, sayed, Wel, you whoreson Lombardes, you rejoyse and laugh, by the masse, we will one daye have a daye at you, come when it wyll; and that saiynge the other merchauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the younge and evell disposed people sayed they woulde be revenged on the merchaunte straungers, aswell as on the artificers straungers. On Monday the morow after, the kyng removed to hys maner of Rychemonde.

Upon this rumour, the xxviii. daye of Aprill, diverse younge men of the citie assauted the Alyens as they passed by the stretes, and some were striken, and some buffeted, and some throwen in the canel. Wherfore the Mayre sent diverse persons to ward, as Stephyn Studley, skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson and diverse otherse, some to one counter, and some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodeynly was a commen secret rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that on May daye next the citie would rebell and slaye all Aliens, in so muche as diverse straungers fled oute of the citie. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kinges counsail, insomuch as the Cardinall, beyng lord Chauncelour, sent for Jhon Rest, Mayre of the citie, and other of the counsayl of the citie, and demaunded of the Mayre in what case the citie stode; to whom hee aunswered that it was wel and in good quyet. Nay, sayd the Cardinalle, it is informed us that your young and ryotous people wyll ryse and distresse the straungiers; heare ye of no such thing? No surely, sayd the Mayre, and I trust so to governe them that the kynges peace shalbe observed, and that I dare undertake, yf I and my brethren the Aldermen may be suffered. Wel, said the Cardinal, go home and wisely forsee this matter, for and yf any suche thing be, you may shortly prevent it. The Mayre came from the Cardinals at iiii of the clocke at after none on May even, and demaunded of the officers what they harde; diverse of them aunswered that the voyce of the people was so, and had ben so ii or iii dayes before. This heryng, the Mayre sent for al his brethren to the Guylde hall in great hast, and almost vii. of the clocke or the assemble was set. Then was declared to them by Master broke the recorder how that the kynges counsail had reported to them

that the comminaltie that night would ryse, and distresse al the Aliens and straungers that inhabited in the citie of London; the Aldermen aunswered they harde say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayd that it was wel done to forsee it. Then, sayd the recorder, it were best that a substancial watche were set of honest persons, housholders, whiche might withstand the evell doers. An Alderman sayde, that it was evell to rayse men in harneys, for if suche a thinge were entended, they coulde not tel who woulde take their parte. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the younge men asonder, and every man to shut in hys doores, and to kepe hys servauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to the Cardinal before viii. of the clocke, and then he, with suche as were of the kynges counsayll at his place, commaunded that in no wyse watche shoulde be kept, but that every man shoulde repayre to his awne house, and there to kepe hym and hys servauntes tyl vii. of the clocke of the mornynge; with whiche commaundement the sayde Rycharde brooke, sergeaunt at the lawe and recorder, and syr Thomas Moore, late undershrife of London and then of the kynges counsaill, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre and before ix. of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundement of the kynges counsayl. Then in all hast, every Aldermen sent to his warde that no man should styrre after ix. of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doores shut and hys servauntes within tyll vii of the clocke in the mornynge.

After this commaundement syr Jhon Mondy, Alderman, came from his warde, and founde two young men in Chepe plaiynge at Buckerels, and a great company of young men lokynge on them, for the commaundement was then skace knowen, for then it was but ix. of the clocke. Master Mondy, seyng that, bade them leave, and the one younge man asked hym why? and then he sayd, thou shalt know, and toke hym by the arme to have had him to the counter. Then all the young men resisted the Alderman, and toke him from master Mondy, and cryed prentyses and clubbes. Then out at every doore came clubbes and weapons, and the Alderman fled, and was in great daungier. The more people arose out of every quarter, and oute came servynge

men and water men and Courtiers, and by a xi. of the clocke there were in Chepe vi. or vii. hundreth. And oute of Paules churcheyarde came iii. hundreth, whiche wist not of the other and so out of all places they gathered, and brake up the counteryes, and tooke out the prisoners that the Mayre had thether committed for hurtynge of the straungers, and came to Newgate and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Mayre and Shrifes were there present, and made Proclamacion in the kynges name, but nothynge was obeyed. Thus they ranne a plump thorow sainct Nycholas Shambels, and at saynct Martyns gate there met with them syr Thomas Moore and other, desyrynge theym to go to their lodgynges. And as they were intreatyng and had almost brought them to a staye, The people of saynct Martynes threwe oute stones and battes, and hurte dyverse honest persones, that were perswadynge the ryotous people to ceasse, and they bade theim holde their handes, but still they threwe oute bryckes and hoate water. Then a sergeaunt of Armes called Nycholas dounes, whiche was there with master Moore, entreatynge them, beynge sore hurt, in a fury cryed doune with them. Then all the misruled persons ranne to the doores and wyndowes of saynct Martyn, and spoyled all that they founde, and caste it into the strete and lefte fewe houses unspoyled. And after that they ranne hedlynge into Cornehill by Leaden hal, to the house of one Mutuas, a Frencheman or Pycardy borne, whiche was a greate bearer of Frenchemen, were they pyckpursses, or howe evell disposicion soever they were of, and within hys gate, called Grenegate, dwelled dyverse Frenchmen that kalendred Worsted, contrary to the kynges lawes; and al thei were so borne out by the same Mutuas, that no man durst medle with them, wherfore he was sore hatet, and yf the people had found hym in their fury they would have striken of his head; but when they found hym not, the water men and certeyn young priestes that were there fell to riflynge; some ranne to Blanchechapelton and brake the straungers houses, and threwe shooes and bootes into the strete.

This from x. or xi. of the clocke continued these ryotous people, durynge whiche tyme a knight called syr Thomas parr in great hast went to the Cardinall and tolde him of thys ryot, which

incontinent strengthened his house with men and ordinaunce. And after this knight roade to the king to Richemond, and made the report much more then it was. Wherfore the king hastely sent to London, and was truly advertised of the matter, and how that the ryot was ceassed and many of the doers apprehended. But while this ruffling continued syr Richard Cholmeleye, knight, Lieutenaunt of the Towre, no great frende to the citie, in a frantyke fury losed certayn peces of ordinaunce and shot into the citie, whiche did litle harme, howbeit his good wyl apered. About iii. of the clocke, these ryotous persons severed and went to their places of resorte, and by the waye they were taken by the Mayre and the heddes of the citie, and some sent to the Towre, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of iii. c.; some fled, and specially the watermen and priestes and servyng men, but the poore prentises were taken. About fyve of the clocke the erles of Shrewesbury and Surrey, whiche had harde of this ryot, came to London with suche strength as they had, so dyd the Innes of court, and diverse noble men; but or they came all the ryot was ceased and many taken, as you have heard.

Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of doctor Bele called to remembraunce, and he taken and sent to the Towre, and so was Jhon Lyncoln; but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then the iiii. day of May was an Oyer and determiner at London before the Mayre, the duke of Norffolke, the erle of Surrey and other. . . . And upon examinacion it could never be proved of any metyng, gathering, talking, or conuenticle at any daye or tyme before that day, but that the chaunce so happened without any matter prepensed of any creature saving Lyncoln, and never an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamacions were made that no women shoulde come together to bable and talke, but all men should kepe their wyves in their houses. All the stretes that were notable stode full of harnessed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the citezens, whiche greved them sore, and yf they woulde have bene revenged the other had had the worsse, for the citezens were ii. c. to one; but lyke true subjectes they suffered paciently.

When the lordes were set, the prisoners were brought in thorough the stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some chyldren of xiii. yere. There was a great mournyng of fathers and frendes for their chyldren and kynsfolke. Emong the prisoners many were not of the citie, some were priestes, and some husbandmen and laborers, the whole some of the prisoners were ii. c. lxxviii. persones. The cause of the treason was because the kyng had amitie with all Christen princes, that they had broken the truce and league, contrary to the statute of kyng Henry the V. Of this treason diverse were endited, and so for that tyme the lordes departed. And the next day the duke came agayn, and the erle of Surrey with ii. M. armed men, which kept the stretes. When the Mayre, the duke, and the erle of Shrewsbury and Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and xiii. founde giltye of high treason and adjuged to be hanged, drawen and quartered, and for execucion wherof were set up xi. payre of galowes in diverse places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blanchechapelton, Gracious strete, Leaden hal, and before every counter one, and at Newgate, at S. Martens, at Aldrisgate, at Bishops gate. This sight sore greved the people to se galowes set in the kynges chamber. Then were the prysoners that were judged brought to the places of execucion, and executed in most rigorous maner, for the lord Edmond haward, sonne to the duke of Northfolke, and knight Mershal, shewed no mercy but extreme cruelty to the poore yongelinges in their execucion, and likewise the dukes servauntes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hange, some bad drawe, some bad set the citie on fyer, but all was suffred.

On Thursday the vii. day of May was Lyncoln, Shyrwyn, and two brethren called Bets and diverse other adjudged to dye. Then Lyncoln said: my lordes, I meant well, for and you knew the mischief that is ensued in this realme by straungers, you would remedy it, and many tymes I have complained, and then I was called a busy felow; now our lord have mercy on me. Then all the sayd persons were layd on hardels and drawen to the standarde in Chepe, and first was Jhon Lyncoln executed, and as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaundement from the kyng to respite execucion. Then the

people cried, God save the king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tyll another daye, and the prisoners sent agayn to warde, and the harnessed men departed oute of London, and all thynges quyet.

[The rest of the prisoners, "poore younglinges and olde false knaves . . . to the number of iiii. c. men and xi. women," were subsequently pardoned.]

2. "A TREATISE CONCERNINGE THE STAPLE AND THE COMMODITIES OF THIS REALME," *c.* 1519-35.

[Drei Volkswirtschaftliche Denkschriften aus der Zeit Heinrichs VIII. von England, ed. R. Pauli (1878), pp. 15-43. The author of this treatise was probably Clement Armstrong.]

After the staplers hadd made theym self into a company corporat at Calais of no moo in nomber than convenyently occupied so moche wolle and felles, as the housbond-men and fermours in England receyved of the gift of Godd yerly by werk of housbondry in a right order (wher Godd first gaff the leyrs therof, when no singularte was sought to have more plenty of wolle by mens wisdome than God by his wisdome first ordenyd, that alle men by ther bodily werke schuld receyve of Goddes gift bothe mete and clothyng togeders, that is with the werke of housbondry to receyve the speciall gift of the fynes and goodness of the staple wolle, which Godd by his first day of everlastyng light by vertu of his holy spirit gaff into the erth for the comon welth of Englande, before sone, moone and sters were made, whiche are but the mynesters of the gift of the same); than at the first begynyng of the staple at Calais, whan was but a certayn nomber of staplers, than was the certayn quantite of staple wolle, receyved of Godd by werk of housbondry, ordynaryly sold at Caleis alwey for redy money and for bullion, which that tyme the Loo contreys in Flaunders was gladd to bryng to Calais to paye for wolle at the staple in hand, which bullion in a mynt at Caleis was coyned ther from the dayes of Richard the II^{d} duryng Henry the IIIIth, the Vth

and the VIth to Edward more than sixty yers, which was encrese of plenty of money to the holl welth of the reame, beside the clothe likwise for redy money was sold to straungers in the reame. After that soo many staplers encreased in nomber oon of a nother by meane of apprentishode withowt any consideracion of the welth of the holl reame, that in kyng Edwardes dayes the wolle that Godde yerly gaff to England by werke of housbondry, receyvyng clothyng with bodily levyng, was not able to suffise the nomber of staplers, which than was encresed, that sought in the reame to have staple wolle, oon before a nother. Than begane the staplers to enhaunce the price of wolle, and oon to bye wolle before a nother, begane to giff rewarde to fermours and to ther wiffes to have wolle oon before a nother. By reson so many staplers daily encreasyng somoch, the more wolle sought they daily to bye, as no merchaunt can bye withowt merchaundisez, wher than, by meane of so many staplers occupieng so moche the more quantite of wolle, reysing the price of wolle, caused wolle to be the scarser and derer to the clothmakers. So the more staplers, that caridd the more staple wolle owt of the reame to Caleis, daily encreasyng the more quantite of wolle ther to selle, causid the lesse quantite of wolle remaynyng than in England to the use of the clothmakers. Yitt that tyme that begynnyng of distruccion of the reame was not espied, for than the first marte in the Loo countreis a this side Almaigne was holden in Brugge in Flaunders, when all nacions first resorted most comonly theder. That tyme Londoners hadde full recourse theder and gate riches plentuously, before so great nomber of adventurers than was not encreased as after was and now is. As all inordinate companyes made by mens wisdome, encreasyng into syngler weale, distroyeng comon weale, hath but a beeng and endyng for a certayn age, induryng swiche owt of a right contrary Goddes ordinancie cannot endure, like as no thyng under the sonne is of it self ever after but as vanyte.

At that tyme of kyng Edwarde Londoners beganne to pay costumes to the kyng by bryngyng straunge merchaundisez into the reame from the marte. That tyme Londoners scantly beganne first to adventure by south into Spayn. Crosby, that

bilded his howse at Seynt Elens,[1] was ane of the first that adventurid into Spayn, so as upon a fourty four yere ago Spayn was callid a farre adventure, and abowt a thirty six yere agoo was first occupieng to Turkye, Scio, and to all thos partes, alle which now are cowntid but as comon recourses, every nacion owt goyng a nothyr, every to oversayle by yonde other to seke syngularite. In example whether alle merchaundisez syns that tyme is not bought more derly and therof made more scarsite, moch wurse now in England than afore tyme was for the wealthe of the comonaltie; to see how it was never well syns regions and reames hath so farr sought oon to distroye the recourse and ordinarily levyng of another. To refourme the comon welth of all cristen reames lakkyth a right ordinary Emperour, which shuld take no righte of reames to be his right, but by the right wisdome of Godde shuld mynester the right that Godd to alle reames hath gevyn. Exemplum before Portyngale overseylid beyonde the equinoctiall to seke the rote wher spices growith, to bryng the encrease therof into his singularite, of all tyme past the encrease therof of Goddes gift was earned upon lande from hande to hande, from oon contrey to a nother and solde by ordinary recourse by wey of staples, wherby the merchaunts every hadde ordinary wynnyng oon by another; Yhe, that tyme carryedd so long a wey in custodie from the staple at Venys thorowt Almaigne by marte into Flaunders, whan all reames bought it good chepe farre under the price that now is, for oon quarter of the value that now is, of many thynges not nede to reherse herin: notmegges for 6 or 7$^{d.}$ the pownde not 30^{ti} yere agoo, and gynger for 7$^{d.}$, greyns for 6$^{d.}$, clowz for 16$^{d.}$, mace for 18$^{d.}$, synamond for 18$^{d.}$, suger 2½$^{d.}$, long pepper 8$^{d.}$, saunders 10 or 11$^{d.}$, wher now it is to see, how the Portyngalez hath raised alle spices 3 parte more derer, to the hurtyng the comon weale of all remes, after the kynde of merchaunts; as oon

[1] "Crosby Hall," the great hall of Sir John Crosby's house, built in 1466, was one of the few buildings which escaped the Great Fire of 1666 and was still standing in Bishopsgate at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1907, the ground being urgently needed for business premises, the Hall was removed to its present site in Chelsea, on ground which was once the garden of Sir Thomas More, at one time a tenant of Crosby Hall.

merchaunt, to make hym self riche, care not to hurt all other, as [*i.e.* so] Portyngale for his singler weale hath distroyed the comon weale of gret nomber of peple by distroying the old recourse of spices, wherby every contry oon helpid another. And therby in conclusion now to see, how all reames cristen is hurt therby, which now cannot be reformyd but by a right Emperour, that cannot mynester right to every reame in as moche as he takith the righte of so many reamys by fleshly lynke to be his right.

Now lett us goo to the staplers at Caleis ageyn, whan it was well in England, havyng no moo but so many as caried owt no more wolle and felles to the staple than they receyvid for it redy money or bullion in hande, which than was coyned ther and daily brought into England. Than was vitalles and money in England, and comon peple lyvyng the better by werke of husbondry; than alle the staplers of wolle and felles dwellid owt of London in the contreys abowt the reame, which occupied no straunge merchaundise, that with the money, that rose of ther wolle salez at Caleis, never returnid it into Englande in merchaundisez, but that tyme was coyned at Caleis so long tyme as abowt the later dayes of kyng Edward. So many staplers was encresid, for whose occupieng so moch the more staple wolle in England was encresid and brought to Caleis, that the Dowch tong perceyvid they shuld never lakk non, but have it soo plentuous, which causid theym to forsake to pay redy money and bullion at the staple to bye it for respite. By that meanes the mynt in Caleis desolvyd, and so was it ordenyd, that the Dowch tong with the staplers concludid to pay for wolle but a certayn money in hande at the staple, and the residew to be payde at dayes apoyntid at the marte in the Loo contreys after the mart at Brugge desolvyd, and other marte was made at Andwarpe and Barow and Myddelborow. Now take hedd after that conclusion a standard rate was made at Calis, how moche Flemysh money shuld make the sterlyng pownde, abowt 28 shilling Flemysh the pownde, after which rate the staplers recyvyd ther payments for ther wolle at the marte. Which staplers after that tyme never usid for ther wolle to bryng no money into England, as they didd before, but

alwey patisid [*i.e.* practised] and covenauntid with the adventurers in London to delyver ther money, that rose of ther wolle sales, to theym by exchaunge. So begane the staplers and the adventurers for ther own singler profite to make ther exchaunge to geders in kepyng owt of the reame all such money as yerly shuld be brought into the reame for our riche comodites. So as the kynge of England and alle the lordes of therth, the rulers of the peple, never syns hath serchid nor seen, how the comon weale of the reame hath been distroyed, nor never thynking of such maters, but loke forward and nothyng behynd in tyme past. But always whan hurte of peple is spied, that such as are hurt of necessite compleyn, than rigour makyth acte, who that dothe such hurte and myschiefe ageyn to hav myschief for his reward, either payne, losse of godes or deth. That is rigorous lawe of [?] after wich, ever after, mischief and hurte emonges the peple is wrought. The lordes in England hath ynow to doo to herken alwey to mischiefs doon in the reame dayly for lakk of a right order of lief in the holl comonaltie, but they never serche to the originall cause, to know what is the very rote of the holl nede, necessite and scarsite of the holl reame. Whan the Dowch tong hadd so aggred with the staplers of England to sett ther money at a certayn rate of 28 shilling the sterlyng pownde to pay so to the staplers at the marte, than ratid they ther money in ther contreys at the marte at hygher value, that rather than the staplers shuld carye ther money for ther wolle into England, they shuld gayn more profite to delyver it by exchaunge to adventurers of London for 8$^{d.}$ or 12$^{d.}$ lesse in the pownde to wyne soo moche by that exchaunge in every pownde, to receyve ther money after they come home or sende into England at ther day to receyve it in London. Which money the adventurers of London, receyvyng it at the marte of the staplers, bestowith it ther upon all straunge merchaundise and bryngith it over into England, wher before that tyme the staplers for ther wolle brought ther money into England so long as they sold ther wolle for redy money at the staple and kept a mynt ther.

Now see another exchaunge, that the staplers than beganne to make with the adventurers in London. After such constitucion

made of wolle to be sold for respite and the money therfor paid at marte, [and after wool] was sold at the staple by ther tyme of ages brought theder, the staplers in England apoyntid to receyve ther payments in such wise at marte, consideryng ther shyppyng of wolle in England, thought to wyne more by the age of ther wolle brought to Caleis, than to receyve ther money them self at the marte, to make it over first into England and afterward therwith to bye ther woll and so lose a shippyng, [and] hadd lever lose the profite of ther exchaunge beyonde see to receyve so moch money in London of the adventurer, therwith to bye wolle to save a shippyng and wyn so moche more money by the age of ther wolle at Caleis, and the adventurer therfor to receyve the money owyng to the stapler at the marte.

Thus by theis two kyndes of exchaunges never was brought into England no money for English wolle sold at the staple, after wolle was sold for respite in Flaunders, and by the exchaunge betwen the stapler and [the] merchaunt adventurer in London is double losse to the kyng and his lordes and the holl reame. For so doth the adventurer delyver his stokk of money to the stapler, which elles he shuld bestow upon clothes, that is the kynges comodites, therfor to pay the kynges costome by carieng it owt of the reame, wherof the kyng losith his costome. And that adventurer, so doyng make his exchaunge, goth over see with an empty hande, and receyvith the staplers money beyonde see and ther bestowith it upon straunge merchaundise and bryngith it into the reame, which elles by the stapler ought to be brought into the reame in redy money. In this wise begane the exchaunge betwen staplers and adventurers of London, after the wolle at Caleis was sold for respite. And by the said reason so moch wolle was sold that tyme to the townes in Holand and other contreys for respite, takyng ther town seales for sewertie, which by the werrs that Fredrik the Emperour that tyme made in Flaunders for Maximylian his sone, by destroyeng such townes and the peple in theym, the kynges staple lost great somes of money, that never after was hadd nor recovered, to the gret hynderaunce of the holl reame. And from that tyme to this tyme, by the same makyng of exchaunge the staplers and adventurers hathe kept owt of

the reame all such money, gold and silver, which elles for wolle and cloth shuld yerly come into the reame. Over long processe herin to discribe, how they have distroyed the comon weale of the holl reame by the ignoraunce and sufferaunce of the kyng and of his lordes.

Alwey to see and consider, how the rote of most myschief hath ever bredd in London, wher as all staplers was first owt of London dwellyng abrode in the reame unto within sixty yeres agoo, that than the staplers toke into ther folish [*sic*] adventurers of London by redempcion. After they soo dydd, the adventurers, by ther occupieng of byeng all straunge merchaundise of the martes, hadd so moche the more advauntage over the staplers of the countrey, that in short processe of tyme begane to were owt all the staplers abrode in the reame. Now take hedde, after adventurers in London became to be staplers, all the staple wolle in the reame was not able to suffise theym. Than begane the rank myschyff and distruction of the holl reame to spryng and sprede owt of London duryng this fourty yers past and more. Than begane so many byers of wolle in all contreys callid broggers, and not staplers nor clothmakers, but such as gate it owt of pore mens hands and ferms to sell it to the staplers in London for coynne of money. Than began the price of wolle to rise so hygh more and more daily, that fermours, alwey metyng at marketts, as alle sorts mete like to like, oone heryng of another the highnes of the price of wolle so risyng, stodyed and devisid how to destroy mens werks of housbondry to encrese more wolle, therof to have the more plenty. So rose the price of wolle so hyghly, that in conclusion fermours, yhe, and gentilmen, began to putt ther erthe to idulness, makyng pasture to fede more shepe to encrease the more staple wolle, in so moch as they begane to serche and stody ther wisdome to accownt the gret profite that they myght wynne therby, serchyng owt the leyrs of the grownd wherin Godd gaff his gifft of fyne wolle, either fermours, that of the lordes cowd gete erth in ferme by leisz, or the lordes of the erthe theym selfes, perceyvyng such singularites, made ther accownts; first accowntyng how moch money the yerly rent of a holle village or towne was worthe, wher goode leyir of wolle was, which rent per adventure

past not a 40 or 50 pownde by yere, wherupon a 400 peple hadde labours and lyvyng by werks of housbondry, daily encresyng bredyng and bryngyng forth of plenty of corn and catall with ther bodily labours, every with other lyvyng owt of nede and necessite, and over that paid the yerly rent to the lord truly, and lyvid in forme of Crist, as members of his body shuld live in a holy chirch in cure of mystery of his holy spirit, mynestrid by a persone havyng cure over sole and body. Upon such serche of the yerly rent of such villages and townes accowntid, how many acres within the precinct therof and how great nomber of shepe it was able to fede, being made idull and put to pasture, and how moche wolle thos shepe wolde yerly encrease, and how moch money that wolle was worth after so hygh price reisid, that in conclusion they fownd soo gret yerly profits by the encreaseng of wolle more than by occupieng the erth with the werks of husbondry for the meyntenaunce of comon peple, that causid them for ther own singler weale to breke down all the howsis and howsholdes, puttyng the dwellers owt from ther labours and levyng to seke ther lyvyng as in wildernes wanderyng by beggyng and stelyng, or otherwise to gete ther mete wher they can. And the curats of all such villages and townes, not consederyng the worde of God, how all peple shulde werke to receyve ther levyngs of Godds gift in right order—as Adam was first putt into paradise, that he shuld werke; and Poule saith: who will not werke, that he ete not; and he saith: every man shuld werke in pece to ete his own mete, that no man shuld ete awey his neighbours mete, but werk to deserve his own mete, before he ete it, and that no man for his mete shuld distroy the werks of Godd—alle theis texts of Goddes wordes the curats never oons serchid nor remembrid nor never ledd ther peple to such cure, but for their tyme wer contentid to take of the lorde of the soile as moch yerly, as he was able to reise clerly over all charges of his offis mynestrid in his cure, to putt that in his persone and bere a hawk on his fist and a spaynyall teyd to his taile or a little biche to hunt the wall, and lett alle his shepe ronne astray and seke ther lyvyng wher they lustid, to ete up every mans corne, what so ever myschief shuld chaunce theym carid not. Now see, what myschief all such pasturers of

shepe wrought to encrease more staple wolle than God ordenyd, what dewlish wisdome rotid in theym, they wrought ageynst Goddes ordinaunce in that his worde saithe: *Anima plus quam corpus et corpus plus quam vestimentum.* For the lesse profite they distroyd the more; for singler lucre, by encresyng wolle for clothyng, they distroyd bodily levyng, and by distroyng the lyvyng of the body causid the peple of necessite to seke theyr lyvyng to the distruccion of ther solles; and what other examples are to see, how they have wrought to distroy the ordinaunce of Godde and his werkes, for oon thyng hath distroyed another!

What wikkyd dewlish bestes are they, that may see how Godd made all thynges by his wisdome, and if Godd hadd foresene and thought it more wisdome to have gevyn his speciall giftes of fynes and goodness of staple wolle to any moo places of the erth in England, than to thos to which he at the first begynnyng ordenyd and made, he myght as well have made all the erth in England to yeld staple wolle as thos certayn places whych he ordenyd. What wretchis are thos, that for theyr own syngler weale werkith ageynst Goddes wille and ordinaunce, to distroy the comon weale of the holl reame. . . .

Many folish erronyous opynyons and arguments hathe bene and is emonges wikkyd peple. Some saith: so moch wolle in England hathe bene more than nede, that for the comon weale, [it] is said, it hathe bene buruyd. Staplers now a daies to show ther myschief to be profitable to the reame saith: if they caried not so moche wolle owt of the reame, elles it shuld be lost, not able to drape it. They say also: that Spanysh wolle is so encresid to fynes, goodness and so great plenty, that withowt they holp to sell our English wolle, elles non other reame shuld have nede to bye it in England. And further they say and hold an opynyon, that by carieng certayn shepe owt of England into Spayn by kyng Edwardes dayes, that by the bodyes of the shepe then robbid England of our speciall gift of fynes and goodnes of our staple wolle. With such vayn void resons they fill mens wittes. But the trouth is to see, how Godd gaff that speciall gift of fynes of goode wolle in the erthe, before sonne, moone, and sters and before man was made, which gift comyth of Godd from above man. This is over mens wisdome and

power of this worlde to robbe England of that gift; God the gever and all his ordinary mynesters of the gift in hevyn is evyn like now as ever hath ben in like force and effect. In exemplum, to see in England, wherin oon ayre, heyt and temperaunce is, the shepe fedyng on the erthe, wher is a fyne leyre of staple woll; within a myle or two is a corse leyre of heyry wolle; to shere of the wolle of the shepe of bothe leyr and chaunge the shepe, puttyng either sort of the shepe on others leyre, ther next flesh of ther wolle shall grow after the gift of the leyr. So as the removyng of the shepe removith no part of Goddes gift gevyn into the erthe. No, nor if the very erbe, wherby the shepe receyve ther fedyng, shuld be paryd up by the rotes and chaunged either to the others leyre, the erbe is no mater, wherby to remove Goddes speciall gift of fynes and goodnes of wolle in the erthe. So as all speciall gift of rich comodites, that Godd first gaff into the erth in every reame to oon reame, that another hath not, to the entent that every reame shuld be able to liff of Goddes gift, oon to be help to another to be an occasion oon to live by another, all such gifts Godd by his spirit in the first day of everlastyng light gaff theym into the erthe, before makyng lights of this world, sonne, moone and sters, in as moche as it is to see how they are but the mynesters of thos gifts. Like as Godd ordenyd all men to werke [for] the meate, that the sone of man shall gyve us, whom Godd the father hath sealid, so is the sonne the greate brode seale of Goddes rightwisnes, wherby Godd by the sonne in his office contynually and dayly ledethe all erthly bodyes to werke, goyng from the este to the west, and in his other office from the south to all and to every reame, region and countrey, his gift every yere, which Godd in the first begynnyng gaff into erthe. Which gyft is over and above mans compas by no mans power nor wisdome oon reame to robbe another of all suche giftes, as Godd by the office of sone of man gevyth to all men.

In exemplum, elles every reame hadd robbid another or this day: England havyng the fynest woll, if it had wolle oyles, that Godd hath gevyn to Spayn and other contreys, than wolde England sette nought be Spayn. It is to see, how every reame hath serchid to robbe oon another. England hath geten owt of

Spayn and other contreys the roth and fruyts of olives, figges, almonds, dates and orynges and such other thyngs, and hath sette and plantid theym in the erth in England, which hath brought forth to bodyly stokk and braunchis and levys by the risyng of the sonne in the spryng of the yere. But whan the sonne comyth to the mystery of his gift at mydsomer, beholdyng England soo willyng to robbe Spayn to gete from it Goddes gifts, the sonne turnyth from the northe towards the southe and will not giff no vertu of good to non of the comodites of Spayn, soo removid into England, nother ripnes, swetnes, strength in operacion, nor no propertie that shuld help and encrease England to the hurt and hynderaunce of Spayn. So evident to see, how the office of the sonne is not only to mynester alle the gifts of Godd yerly to every reame, region or contrey on the erthe accordyng like as Godd in the first begynnyng gaff it, but also the sonne by his office holdith and kepith every reame and contrey in his own right, that noo oon robbe nor hurte another. What a lorde is Godd, that so rightwisly mynesterith right to all reames and contreis rownd abowt all the holl erthe by his oonly oon great brode seale of his law of sone of man, gevyng mete for bodily levyng to all men in this world, as in John VI°: *Operamini cibum, quem filius hominis dabit vobis; hunc enim pater signavit*, etc. What a wisdome is of erthly kynges, that in oon litle reame, which is but as a howse in comparison of the kyngdom of sone of man, that in so litle quantite cannot giff to every man right and kepe every man in his right by oon ordinary hedd-seale, but for a sory cotage of a noble rent by yere must have many writyngs and many sealis, and therby can nother see nor know how to have right clerly nor suerly. So false is mens wisdome and policy.

It may well be said: in England is no right order, wher all and every man sekith the policy ageynst the ordynaunce of Godd, oon to robbe another in distroyng the holl welth of the reame, to see how the pastures of shepe do encrease so great quantite of wolle to suffice the inordinat nomber of staplers in the reame, which within a sixty yers hath distroyed a 400 or 500 villages in the myddell parts of the body of the reame. A mervelous sight to see, England for lakke of the lyvely grace of

Godd lyveth like as a beste, which beeng woundyd, of the sore greff and smert the members hath sensible felyng, but of the cause therof they have no descrivyng. So the pore wrechid bestly membris of the body of the reame, every meting with other in company, compleynyth of ther sore greff of nede and necessite of vitalls, clothyng and money. They sensibly fele scarsite, so lyvyng in mysery. But they know not the cause therof, which causith theym to murmur and grudge daily, redy to doo any myschief, if they thought it myght be any remedy. Such mysorder in the reame is not convynyent in the body of a kyng[dom]. An exemplum is to see, how within a sixty yers, that Londoners hath become staplers, oon stapler in London hath distroyd the labours and levyng of 4000 or 5000 comen peple and hath distroyd the plenty of vitall of the holl reame, wher Godd hath ordenyd by his gift that comon peple shuld werk to receyve no more staple wolle yerly, than of those shepe to the which Godd gevith lieff on such leyrs wher staple wolle are, to be therupon bredd and brought up by werke of husbondry. So as all peple shuld werke the erthe to receyve both mete for bodily levyng and clothyng togeders, not for clothyng to distroy bodily levyng, for the lesse to distroy the more. That wisdome is of the devilis depe witt owt of the depist risyng. But so they have distroyd villages and the labours and lyvyng of comen peple. Some oon pasturer of shepe for his own singularite hath distroyedd howsis and howsholdes and labours and levyngs of 1000 or 1200 or 1400 peple, and after the erth in villages so putt to idulnes and pasture hath hadd no shepe of that bredyng therupon to have fedyng but to ete the gresse.

To encrease wolle hath alwey usid to bye the shepe [from] alle heyry corse leyrs in Walys and other owtbredyng and bryng theym to the good leyrs, wher ther corse wolle chaungith to staple wolle, but not so pure fyne wolle like as in old tyme it was receyvid by werks of housbondry. Forasmoch as the speciall gift therof is in the erthe, therfor the shepe to receyve that gift of fynes and godnes therof must nedes fede of the leyres of the erthe, like as in old tyme the erth was wrought and openyd by tillage, that the shepe myght fede of the inward leyre of the erth and therupon nyghtly lay and was foldydd. Than receyvid the

shep ther naturall fedyng of the leyre of fyne staple wolle, evyn like Godd first gaff it. So as than was it pure fyne woll, oon pownd worth two now, because the erthe is now putt to idulnes to bryng forth rank, foggye, wild gresse, wherupon the shepe of the hyghest of the gresse receyvith ther fedyng, so receyve they rank, wild heyry wolle, in that they cannot come to the leyr of therthe, owt therof to receyve the gift of Godd.

So is the gift of fyne wolle yerly lost to the great hurt and sclander of the reame, that is the cause that now of late years peple comonly reportith: Spaynysh woll is almost as good as English woll, which may well be soo, by that Spayn hath housbondid ther wolle frome wurse to better, and England from better to wurse, which must nedes cause theym the nygher to accorde to oon godnes. Yitt can they not be lyke by Goddes ordinaunce. English wolle hath staple and Spaynysh wolle hath no staple. So as Spayn hath assayed all the meanes to cause ther wolle to have staple, washyng ther woll upon the shepe before sheryng, and washyng it after sheryng, can have no staple by Goddes own ordinaunce, albeit Spayn hath bettrid ther wolle by shiftyng of leirs and by housbondry, and within a fifty yers hath encreasid so moche wolle, which by a staple holden in Brugge in Flaunders sellyng six tymes more now than of old tyme, that it is drapid with English wolle in Flaunders and all the Loo contreis so plentifully settyng ther comon peple to werke and English peple to liff idully. English wolle myxid with Spaynysh wolle makyth soo great quantite of clothe that distroyth the sale of all English cloth, so as all that English merchaunts doth with the comodites of the reame is to the distruction of all comon peple. And an example is to see: the wolles of Spayn are of such kynds withowt the wolles of England be myxed with, it can make no clothe of it self for no durable weryng, to be nother reisid nor dressid, by cause it hath no staple. Spaynysh wolls are of diversite of leyrs of fynes and corsnes of the heyres. Some will make clothe of fyne drapyng worthe a 12 shilling or a marc a yarde with laboure, albeit it shall have no staple in the weiryng like English clothe. In short tyme the wolle shall were awey unto the likness of worstedd, notwithstanding the fynes and goodnes of English wolls thus distroyed by reason of distroyng housbondry with the labours and levyng of comon peple.

Only for the singler lucre of the pasturers of the shepe they have distroyed the comon weale to encrease so moche quantite of staple wolls to susteyn the staplers latly risen in London, which now hathe distroyd alle other staplers in the holl reame. To see the customable usage of pasturers of shepe, that alwey to store ther pastures hathe usid to remove all the store of the owtbredyng of shepe in Wales and other places to ther staple leyrs, to encrease staple wolle. Which shepe, so removid from ther fedyng on the hygh mowntayns and hilles in Wales to the rank fedyng on the leyrs of staple wolle, hath so rottid and distroyd the store of the shepe of the holl reame of so long tyme usid, that the pasturers by experience can make ther rekonyng of alle sorts of shepe of diversites of ther bredyng, how long every sort shall liff on ther grownds, forcyng no thyng of the rottyng of ther bodyes, because the price of the wolle are now as moche more as in the old tyme. Therfor, if the pasturers may have a two or three flesis of the woll and the felles, they force not of the bodyes, but when the rott comyth, in as short a tyme as they can sell theym to brochers for little more than the felles are wurthe, rather so to ridd theym, in such wise as the great nomber of rottyn shepe hathe ben eten in England, which in old tyme was wont to ete on ther own bredyng and lyvid in helth ther full age, brought thorowt the reame by faires and markets to sell for 16 *d.* a weder, that now is worthe 4 shilling, and than twenty shepe for oon now, and than more sweter muttons, which on heyry leyrs are swetter than on fyne leyrs. Thus the idulnes of the erth and the ranke gresse hathe bothe distroyd the fynes of the wolls and rottid the shepe, that some oon pasturer losith a 12000 or 16000 shepe in oon yere and alwey storith his pastures agayn with owtward breding. So as some yere a 1000 shepe is rottid in England, that was wont to be eten for the vittallyng of all comon peple in the reame, that no marvell is of scarsite of vitall. And in so moche as beff and mutton is made scarse, all other vitalle must nedes be scarse.

What a myschief dothe every oon of such pasturers werke in the reame, in oon village to distroy the labours and levyng of a 400 or 500 of comen peple, and all the bredyng and encresyng of corn and catalls therin and in distroyng so many shepe, as

from ther own grownds are brought to all such grownds, wher no man is fedd of the gresse that Godd yerly gyvith theim, and all the gresse, wher all suche shepe shuld ete on ther own grownds wher they werr bredd, yerly rottith on the grownds ther, wher no catall is, like as was in old tyme, to ete it. So is almost the half of the sustynaunce of the holl reame distroyd, which Godd givith is not receyvid of his gift, but byers and sellers by such polycy werkyth to receyve ther levyng by the robbyng and destroyng of the holl comonaltie. And all this myschieff of the pasturers is wrought to encrese staple wolle to susteyn the inordinate nomber of staplers; as ther can be no theffes withowt receyvours, so as in reformyng staplers shall reforme pasturers.

An exemplum is to see how some oon stapler is the causer of the distruction of a 4000 or 5000 comon peples levyng. Oon stapler in London will occupie as moche wolle as is encreasid owt of the distruction of 4 or 5 villages, wher a 1400 or 1500 peple hathe hadde labours and levynge, and that wolle carried owt of the reame to the hyndryng of as many, which elles shuld drape it, and to help so many in other contreys. And all the money that ryseth of the sales of the same wolle beyend see is ther bestowid upon artificiall thynges brought into England, which distroyeth as many mens labours and levyng, which elles shuld make it here, the kyng and his lords no thyng consideryng that myschief, which pore artificiall peple hathe ben therewith sorely grevid and therupon hath compleynyd withowt remedy, Always whan handcrafty men hath compleynyd upon Londoners that are adventurers, which hath brought all wares into England of the occupacions sleytly made for little price, wher with they have fillid full the holl reame to pore handycrafts mens distructions, merchaunts alwey causith the kyng and his lords beleve, they do it for the welth of the reame, reportyng, English men cannot make it so goode chepe and will not werke, but giff ther bodyes to slouthe, etyng and drynkyng, and so blaspheme ther own naturall neighbours; and theym self beeng the causers, that all artificiall peple in London and elles wher in England now cannot make artificialite so good chepe as in old tyme, in as moch as they, like as afore sayd, hath distroyd ther plenty of bodyly lyvyng, and also they have usid to bryng so great

abundaunce of all artificiall thyngs into England so sleytly made for so litle money, distroyng all artificers, that no man can use exarcise or actyvite of artificialite approvid. If any English man wold stody to devise and invent any new artificiall thynges, Londoners incontynent is ever redy to destroy it. Abowt a fourteen yers past was but a sleyt fantasy devised in Kent of makyng the first bedys with the pater noster holow like muske balles, made of boxe, which in a short tyme susteynyd a 30 or 40 men, that made theym and sold theym to Londoners, wherby all parties which occupied theym gate lyvyng oon with another, unto [*i.e.* until] a haburdasher, that carried a sample into Flaunders and ther causid a gret abundaunce of theym to be made by yong prenters used in all such actyvite ther, and brought theym into England, to the distruction of the seid artificers here.

Thus adventurers hath usid by bryngyng of straunge artificialite owt of Flaunders to distroy all artificialite in England, wherby the kyng and his lords are made scarse of money, not consideryng ther welth nor the welth of the holl reame. The holl welthe of the reame is for all our riche comodites to gete owt of all other reamys therfore redy money; and after the money is brought in to the holl reame, so shall all peple in the reame be made riche therwith. And after it is in the reame, better it were to pay 6 *d.* for any thyng made in the reame than to pay but 4 *d.* for a thyng made owt of the reame, for that 6 *d.* is owres so spent in the reame and the 4 *d.* spent owt of the reame is lost and not ours. If a right order of a comon weale may be said in England to have vitall as plentifull as in old tyme, artificialite to be meyntenyd shall cause as good chepe artificialite as in other reames and moche more substanciall. It shall be the gret welth to the kyng and all his lords to sett as moche peple as can be to artificialite, for as moch as they labour and werke all for money, that ther money may alwey ronne owt of ther hands in to the hands of such as occupieth housbondry for ther mete and drynk, which money shuld so ronne owt of the housbonds hands into the hands of the kyng and of his lords of the erth; as it is convenyent for lords to have plenty both of vitalle and of money, which Londoners hath distroyd; and yet the lords discrivyth not ther own hynderaunce and losse.

The bredyng of so many merchaunts in London, rison owt of pore mens sonnes, hath ben a mervelous distruction to the holl reame, wher first worshipfull men bownd ther yong children to be merchaunts in London, unto so many were bownd prentisses, that ther masters wold never giff theym no wages, after they cam owt of ther termes, and than, havyng no frends to giff theym nor lend theym a stokke of redy money to occupie their occupacion (that is ther instrument to occupie byeng and sellyng of merchaundise) nor havyng no handy crafte, wherby to gete ther levyng, with no instruments on hande, must nedes lose all ther tyme of prentishod and their yougth, than to seke theym some other lyvyng, to be a servytour by some other meane, or elles to seke to bye merchaundises for respite to gete a stokke to begyn with by such meanes. So wer all yong merchaunts, comyng owt of ther prentishod and cowd have no wages of ther masters, compellid to borow clothes of clothe makers for respite, and caried the same clothes to the marts beyende see to sell, and ther must nedes sell theym, and the money to bestow it on wares to bryng home to sell, to make money to pay ther creditors at ther dayes. So abowt a fifty yers agoo such yong merchaunts begane to encrease in nomber, that bought so many clothes of clothmakers for respit and sold theym in Flaunders at the martes of goode chepe to make retorn to pay ther creditours, that in short tyme they distroyed the price of wollen clothes, causyng all the old merchaunts to fall from byeng and sellyng clothes. The old merchaunts by encreasyng so many yong merchaunts by ther defawt never wold ordeyn non other remedy to help the yong men from such nede to distroy the sale of clothe, to take fewer prentises and to giff theym wages, or by some other meane to make order that non shuld be bownden prentis to be merchaunts by [*sic*, ? but] such worshipful mens sonnes as wer able to giff theym substaunce to bye and sell withowt nede of suche borowyng for dayes. But all ther masters, the olde merchaunts, dispitfully wold defame such yong merchaunts, sayng, they wold be merchaunts but for a little while, so to hurt ther credence rather to undo them than help theym. And all straunge merchaunts in Flaunders, perceyvyng the necessite of the seid yong merchaunts, sought the weys daily how to bye ther clothis good

chepe. Than began old merchaunts to forsake occupieng of clothes to occupie ther money by exchaunge, which is not only pleyn usary, but also it hath and yitt doth helpe to distroye the welth of the kyng, of his lords and comons, for that occupieng hynderith the reame bothe weys outward and inward.

In exemplum, the exchaunger outward sekith either the stapler or straunger that hath any money beyend see payable, and lakkith money here in England to be fayne to take money to his losse, for an English noble to giff a 4 or 5 *d.* the more for a five or six wekes respit to be paid ageyn at the mart of Flaunders. So dothe such exchaungers never bestowe ther money upon no English clothe nor other thyngs, wherby to wyne money as upon merchaundise owtward, to pay any custome to the kyngs profite or for any profite of the reame, but only to wyne lucre as upon the loone and forberyng of his money. After which money so receyvid agayn in Flaunders with the gayn therof, [he] sekith owt adventurers of London, who will receyve that money agayn to bestowe it upon straunge merchaundisez, to bryng it in to England, and for the loone of every noble to giff as moche wynyng to the exchaunger ageyn. In such wise, rich old merchaunts, many men, seeng the price of clothe and the daunger and trouble of byeng strange merchaundises is so casuall, for a more ease and lesse labour they thus occupie ther money by exchaunge, wynnyng profite bothe inward and owtward, which is pleyne usary. Albeit they say, it is non usary, by reason they say, they putt ther money in adventure; which adventure is not upon the see nor otherwise, but like as usary is accowntid usary to wyne profite by lendyng of money, seeng every such exchaunge for any some of money so lent by the name of exchaunge hath two billes obligatory for payment therof. Oon bill is to cary it over the see, wherby to receyve such money ageyn beyend see at the marts, and that other bill the exchanger kepith it for his sewertie in England to be sewer, if that other first bill shuld chaunce to be lost by adventure over the see; so as no colour of excuse can be made of puttyng such money in adventure, but as money lent by very kynd of usary havyng fewer bonds obligatory therefore.

Now to shew more of the said yong merchaunts, so many usid

to borow clothes of clothe makers for respite duryng a fourteen or fifteen yers, in which tyme many of theym ranne awey to sayntwaries and other places, by lossis and lendyng not able to pay for theyr clothes, wher than clothe makers wold no longer trust to theym, but sought to sell ther clothes rather for money and wares to be poned in hand. Than begane clothe makers abowt a thirty six yers agoo to proferre ther clothes to Esterlyngs in the Stiliard, whiche afore that tyme bought all ther clothes of merchaunts within the citie, by whome many citizens hadd gret gaynes, and never sought to bye ther clothes of clothe makers. For a sixty yers agoo old merchaunts bought all ther clothes of cloth makers in the contrey by the holl sortes in pakkes brought home to ther howsis in carts and in wayns, whan than all sailyng clothes came never to Blakwell Hall to no Esterlyngs handes. But after clothmakers cowd not sell ther clothes nother to old merchaunts nor to yong merchaunts for ther suertie nor profite, that causid theym this thirty yere and more to proferre theym to sell to the Esterlyngs, so as the Esterlyngs syns that tyme hathe hadde clothes at ther pleasure for respite, that many of theym hath ronne awey with gret stokkes so borowid of clothe makers, soome oon with a 3000 or 4000 pownde, and all for lakke of a right order, that English clothes are not sold to all straungers by wey of a staple for the comon weale of the holl reame. Yhe, and what a more myschieff hath such lendyng of clothe to the Esterlyngs causid yerly, wher in old tyme they brought great abundaunce of gold and silver in to the reame, now this many yers bryng they non.

To understand, ther are two Haunces of the Esterlyngs. Oon is the olde Haunce of the Sprusyners, that owt of the cold contreys in the este parties, wher is frost and snow on eight monthis in the yere. They come but oons in the yere, bryngyng ther ned-full comodites for England: pitche, tarre, bowstavis, wex, flesh, and such other. And what they hadd nede of more wollen clothe than England hadd nede of ther comodites, therfor they wer wont to bryng gold and silver uncoyned, wherof the name of sterlyng silver rose. But, to understand, that other Haunce is of the Esterlyng merchaunts of the Hansteddes in Almayn. They do England moche hurt, as they be so sufferd, wer wont to bryng

most gold and Suasburgh logges of silver into England. They carye owt of England clothes great quantite all the tymes in the yere. And comonly they will non bye but white only, spone, weyvid and fullid withowt any other werkmanship, wherwith they sett ther own peple to werk. And wher they have no comodites of Almayn to bryng into England for all such clothes, for which they wer wont to bryng great plenty of gold and silver, they have usid more than thirty yers for ther clothes to bryng over all maner straunge aliaunt merchaundisez of all contreys: wode of Spayne, alyme of Ytaly, mader of Flaunders, yhe, and silke, lynyn clothe and all other merchaundisez from the marts in Flaunders, to delyver to clothe makers for clothes and to sell to Londoners to pay clothemakers, so as they never bryng no more gold and silver into the reame. So is England in such maner alwey stuffid, storid and pesterid so full of straunge merchaundise, that as well English merchaunts and Esterlyngs hathe so usid the clothmakers to giff mony and wares for clothes, that clothmakers so takyng wares hathe pesterid all pore comon peple with wares and litle money, that litle money is to be fownd in the holl reame, which must nedes cause litle store of money to the use of the kyng and of his lords.

Evyn like as cloth makers are usid, evyn like wise use they ther pore artificers, saying to ther spynners, carders, weyvers, fullers, shermen and other: if they will have any werke, therfore they must take both wares and money, as lynnen cloth and canvas for kerchews, smokks and such other necessaryes, and dubletts and jakkett clothes, and all such other straunge wares for ther apparell, very scant for all pore peple to gete money to pay ther lords rents. It is over long to describe the myschief that merchaunts werkth thorowt the reame by bryngyng such quantite of strange merchaundise and artificiall fantasies brought into the reame, that causith so great nomber of idull peple to fall to byeng and sellyng therof, so many pedlars and chapmen, that from fair to fair, from markett to markett, carieth it to sell in horspakks and fote pakks, in basketts and budgetts, sitting on holydays and sondais in chirche porchis and in abbeys dayly to sell all such trifells, wherby all straungers in other reames hath werk, and English men hath non, which in a right order myght

make all kynde of artificialite nedfull to suffise the holl reame. All nacions sittyng in the contreys deviseth fantasies to make English men foles to gete the riches owt of the reme, in experience as well French men and other, that in London shewith ware howsis full of trifell sold and bought for a hundred pownde; if the werkmanship of makyng therof takyn awey, the very substance beside the werk is not worth a hundred shilling, but boones, hornes, sakkes, ledder peces, heres, papers, erthyn potts, botells, glassis, and such other trifells; yhe, and daily carieth owt of England old shoes, hornes and bones, and bryngith it into the reame ageyn made in to fantasies, wherby they gete the riches owt of the reme, and not therfore take clothe nor English comodites, but sekith to have rialles, angels and other fyne gold easy to cary and to have therby wynnyng, by reason it is so reisid into hygh price in other reames, specially in Fraunce.

What shall we say of all straungers, that it is petie so to suffer theym to bryng all such straunge merchaundise in, to the hurtyng the comon weale of the reame? To make act by our lawz to bynde theym from so doyng, that wer nother wisdome nor honour to the reame, by owr lawz to rule straungers and putt theym to inconvenyence, to cause theym to reporte yll of the reame. It were more wisdome and honour to ponyssh our own nacion of English merchaunts, that daily stodyeth every oon to distroy the labour and lyvyng of all theyr neighbours. So as they may wynne any riches by byeng all such straunge merchaundize withowt the reame and within the reame, so as they may gete any wynnyng therby, they care not to distroy the welth of the kyng, of his lords and of all the holl reame. In exemplum, if English men were bownd to a right order, no straungers wer able to hurt England. All straunge merchaunts aught to come and goo free beyng [*sic*, buying] what they list. What defawt aught to be putt to theym, bryngyng owt [*i.e.* aught] in to the reame that myght hurt the comen weale? if English men wold not bye it and receyve it to sell it in the reame elles cowd not hurt.

London to this day hath lyvid at suche a libertie withowt any good order of comen weale, by whose occupieng all England is brought into nede and necessite. The insurreccion on May day

beganne evyn by the inordinat meane of Londoners and not of straungers, but by adventurers and by byers and sellers of all artificialite, wherby all pore handycraft [men] are brought into nede and necessite. Before May day pore handy craft peple, which that wer wont to kepe shoppes and servaunts, and hadd labour and levyng by makyng pyns, poynts, girdells, glovis, and all such other thyngs necessary for comen peple, hadd therof sale and profits daily, unto a thirty yere agoo a sorte beganne to occupie to bye and selle alle soche handycraft wares, callid haburdashers, otherwise callid hardware men, that a fourty yere agoo was not four or five shopes in London, wher now every stret is full of theym; which sellith all fantasies and trifell, in distroyeng all handy craft, wherby many riche men is reson upon that distruction of the pore peple. Which before May day pore peple perceyvid theym self, havyng no lyvyng, and wer bownd prentissis in London, not able to kepe no howsis nor shops, but in allis sittyng in a pore chamber, workyng all the weke to sell his ware, on the Saturday brought it to the haburdasshers to sell, to such as use the sale therof, which wold not giff theym so moche wynnyng for theyr wares to fynde theyr mete and drynk, sayng, they hadd no nede therof, ther shopps lay storydd full of byend see; markyng, than beganne pore artificers to murmur and grudge daily, cursyng for bryngyng such thyngs into the reame. Such haburdashers adventurers shewid to the pore peple, it was not they that brought so moche in to the reame, but straungers, that brought it over and lay in the citie thorowt the yere and solde it to all haburdashers, as in very deede French men and Flemyngs ever kepith warehowsis and selers at the water side of all such haburdash wares and sellith it to theym at all tymes thorowt the yere. A warehowse with stuffes, estemyd worth a hundred pownde, the werkmanship therof accowntid by it self, all the substance wherof it is made not worth a hundred shilling, but trifells aforesaid. So the pore artificers in London, being distroyd by occupieng into Flaunders, aswell fullers, shermen and all other, murmuryd and grudgid, that so putt into ther heddys straungers was the cause therof, so begane they to rise upon straungers, Which insurrection, if the Cardinall hadd not incontinent subdewid it, the rightwisnes

of Godd elles hadd wrought that suche as hadd robbid the pore peple in the reme was likely to have ben robbid theym self. London hath cause to pray to Godd, that it may be reformyd in such wise, that Godd take not vengeaunce upon, that it hath distroyed the holl reame. London is now in condicion, that all the peple therein are merchaunts; so as no man therin can liff with bodily werke to gete his mete, but universally stodieth daily how to gete lyvyng oon from another by borowyng in wey of byeng and sellyng, covetous and falsehode ever werkyng oon to begile another. So many brokers that sekith bargayns by wey of chevisaunce over long herin to write; how many weys peple in the citie inventith oon to disceyve another; all pore peple, whiche by handycraft can have no lyvyng, of necessite fallyng to byeng and sellyng of wynes in cellers and blynd lanes, and kepyng alehowsis, sellyng vitall, sowse poddyngs, eggs, butter, cheese, and other thyngs; over grett mervel to see, how all the citie is soo full of alehowsis, vitallyng howsis, sellers and taverns, full of resort of idull riotous peple, usyng inordinat companyes of hawnts of harlotts, and norishyng such mysorder, that comonly the usage and costance is of owtward famyliarite, every man to desire another to make mery in all such howsis of ryott. For lakke that pore peple hath noo labour and levyng by handy craft causith all such inordinate rule. If all peple may have labour and levyng well and besyly occupied, shuld cause moche more quietnes in London and thorowt all the reame.

If a wise, discrete cowncellor of the kyng by his gracious auctorite and comaundement wold take upon hym to reforme the citie of London, that all comon peple therin myght have labour and levyng in a right order to liff owt of necessite, [he] shuld doo the most hyghest pleasure and help to the spiritualtie of England that may be. The spir[it]ualitie knowith not theym self what shuld be ther helpe, therfor they strive with rigorous means to rule the comonaltie, havyng nede to be ware of ther malice and enmite. No thyng can help the spiritualtie, but to help to rule comon peple with charite. Blessid may that cowncellor be, that will soo cowncell theym to suffer the peple to liff in Goddes peace and the kyng in rest and quietnes, and help to support

and indyten hym that will help all comon peple in England to liff owt of nede and necessite. For dowtles, the very necessite in all peple causith theym to have grudge and envy ageynst the spiritualtie, seeing the welth of the holl reame so distroyed, wherin all comon peple is in such nede, and the spiritualtie in so great welthe, causyng all peple to grudge ageynst theym. And so rigorously to handle theym causith theym thynk the spiritualtie hateth theym, soo engendryng such malice between theym, that wisdom is to help such an amyte, for all men to liff togeders in charite. For that entent most wisdome is for the spiritualtie to help all peple to liff owt of necessite. In exemplum, if all peple wer owt of nede, shuld not nede to grudge ageynst the spiritualtie, if they hadd more riches than they have; wher so having riches and all other peple in povertie, that must nedes prikke theym, and to handle theym with hatrid so rigorously must nedes much more greve theym.

If such a right order may be wrought to help all peple to have labour and levyng quyetly to liff owt of necessite, all the holl reame shuld so liff in peace and quyetnes; and if comon peple myght see the spiritualtie werke besily for that entent, [they] shuld sewerly order in London between the bryngyng in of gold and silver into the reame by straungers for byeng clothes, and the clothmakers that was wont to receyve it for ther clothes and alwey distributid it thorowt the reame. London betwen bothe by ther fredom in the citie will never suffer straungers and clothmakers bye and sell togeders for no redy money. But they first bye the clothe of clothmakers, therfore gyvyng both wares and money, and after that so sellith it ageyn for wynnyng, taking therfor of straungers bothe wares and money, that now all men[s] occupieng is turnyd into wares and no money. And if all the clothe in England myght be made of trew wolle, sewerly wrought, and made in to clothes and sold by record of a staple seale to witnes the sewer makyng therof thorowt all reames, and that dyvers shew dayes of the market may [be] ordenyd fre for all straungers to by clothes of the clothmakers to giff redy money for theym, like as in old tyme, so wold the straungers in all reames putt redy money in to the[ir] purses, bowgetts and casketts to bryng into England to bye wollen clothe sewrly made and

good chepe. To see what inconvenyence and myschief is wroght for that no staple of clothe is in England, all the Dowch tong, havyng our English wolle at ther pleasure, with Spaynysh wolle doth drape great quantite of cloth, which they sell in hurtyng the sale of English cloth, of which two wolles makith such cloth that will tak a shynyng glosse with forcibly pressing, plesaunt to the jie, by cause the Spaynysh heyry woll [will] kepe the pressyng, wher English woll of fyne staple will not. And that cloth is thykk and stuffy in the hand to seme fast made clothe, and will not be stretchid owt longer than the length of it self upon no teynters, but rather it will rent in sondry, havyng no staple cannot ratche. So they accownt ther clothes sewerly made to provyde ther own werkmen settyng besyly to werke. And our English clothes of staple woll, which will ratche, they use daily in Andwarpe and other townes to stratch theym upon teynters four or five yards longer in every pece owt, only to wyne so moch by the mesure of theym, sellyng theym in to Almayn, but also sclaunderyng English clothes to the pryse of ther clothes, sayng to Almayns, so disceyvid by theym, that English men do falsly make theym, reporting English wolle to be the best wolle, and the wurst makers of clothes and falsist that can be.

All which myschief and sclaunders is for lakke of a staple and right order not hadd for no comon weale. No man in England never seketh for no comon weale, but all and every for his singler weale. By the wisdome of Adams fall, under the sone no mans wisdome attaynyth unto Goddes wisdome, no mans right is meiten nor measured by Goddes right, that is the standard right of all comon weale. That shuld be the kynges hedd right, like as the hedd right of every oon man. What other right hath Godd putt into the hedd of every oon man, but only the right of comon weale of all the membris in his body. What man can say by the office of his mouth, fedyng all the membris in his body, to giff to oon hand more than to another or to oon fynger or to any oon member more than to another, wherby oon to hurt and distroy another, but that alle membris shuld receyve mete togedere to liff owt of necessite, etc.

3. "HOWE TO REFORME THE REALME IN SETTYNG THEM TO WERKE AND TO RESTORE TILLAGE," *c.* 1535-36.

[Drei volkswirthschaftliche Denkschriften aus der Zeit Heinrichs VIII. von England, ed. R. Pauli (1878), pp. 60-77. Possibly also by Armstrong.]

Our sovereigne lorde the king of Englonde, firste considering in what welth the body of his realme was abought 27 yeres passed, and secundly perceyvyng by what meanes it is now dekeyed and made feble, week and power, by reason that the labours and lyvyng of all common people, members in the body of his realme, hath been distroyed, causing necessite and scarsite of mete and drinke, clothing and money, thirdly his grace and his lordes hade now nede to perceyve and knowe the remedy how to restore the body of his realme to a more welth then ever it was in, as moche as Godd hath not otherwise ordenyd it; therfor the king and his lordes hath nede to mynyster right ordre of comon weale, or elles they muste nedys distroy their owne weale by the very ordenaunce of God, for they are upholden and borne upon the body. Yf they wil be riche, they muste firste see all comon people have richis, that out therof must rise their richis and all the people be out of nede. A riche, welthy body of a realme makith a riche, welthy king being the hedd therof, and a pore, feble, weke body of a realme muste nedys make a pore, feble, weeke king. Our sovereign lorde the king of Englonde cannot gather habundaunce of golde and silver out of the handes of comon people in the body of his realme without they have it.

Therfor his grace muste firste percyve and knowe, what plenty of golde and silver is in the realme, and that golde and silver may be brought out of other realme and contreys into Englonde as moche yerly as the king thinkith to gather out of the handes of the comon people, or elles muste nedis make scarsite of money in so moche as no gold nor silver growith in Englonde, but that shuld be brought out of other contreys into Englond for the rich commodities growing therin, which Godd yerly gevith to all the common people to worke for the welth of the body of the realme.

The holl welth of the body of the realme risith out of the labours and workes of the common people. Therfor to make

due serche: who distroyith the labours and workes of common people muste nedes distroy their lyvinge, in as moche as Godd ordenyd not erthyly men to ete, but yf they worke. . . .

Considering ther ar but two workes for the comon weale of the body of the realme: workes of husbandry to encrese plentie of vitalles, and the workes of artificialite to encrese plentie of money, the moste parte of the common people muste be sett to husbandry to worke for their bodyly lyving, for as moche as our bodyly lyving is more nedfull then our clothing. For that entent it may please the king to sende his commyssioners into every shere howse within the body of his realme to serche thorow every borow, towne and vilage, to have parfit knowledg how many plowes land and how many plowes hath been occupied and how many may be occupied in the hole realme to till the erth by workes of husbandry, to encresse plentie of mete and drinke for our bodyly lyving, and upon that serche and knowleg the kinges gracious mynde towerdes the common weale of all his people may be proclaymed in all his market townes, how his gracious entent and will is that as many plowes as hath been occupied in his holl realme in old tyme shal be occupied ageyne, wherby the moste parte of all his comon people shall have labours and lyvinge to lyve out of necessite and scarsite as many as ar able to worke. Our gracious king thus doing shall firste reyne the hartes and myndes of all his common people members in the body of his realme. After the moste parte of his common people so sett to the workes of husbandry to encresse plentie of vitalles, the other lesse parte of his people to be set to the workes of artificialite to make clothing and to make all other thinges nedfull and necessary, wherby to encresse plentie of money, wherwith to by ther bodyly lyving. So shall all the workers of husbandry have plentye of money for their vitalles of the worke[r]s of artificialite, and so shall the one parte of the people worke for meate and drinke and that other parte for money.

Wheras now so grete nombre of idull people ar in Englonde besyde all such that workith husbandry, havyng no workes or artificialite to gete money wherwith to by there meat and drinke of the workes of husbandry. And all the same idull people havyng lyff in theym must nedys have lyving. Ergo, yf they be [*i.e.* by]

workes of artificialite gete no money wherewith to gete their lyving, [they] muste nedes bege or stele their lyvinge from them that workith husbandry, or otherwise by craftie meanes of beying and sellyng, or by policy to stody howe of plentie to make scarsite, for their singulare weale to distroy the comon weale: that is the wisdome of this worlde. For yf all people be not sett to labour and worke to lyve out of necessite, elles muste they nedys sike their lyvinge by their wisedome and policye. In example to see how alle the workes of syne and wykednes is wrought in suche people as of necessite ar sufferid to seke theire owne lyvinge, every man like as him liste. Every pore manes sone borne in labour is suffered to be a merchaunt, bier and seller, which never workith to help his neybores nor never stodith for a comon weale but for his owne singulare weale. Alle suche cane never lyff in charite, for charite never seketh his owne thinges.

All worke[r]s of artyficialite, as well makers of wollen clothes and all other thinges, muste nedes dwell in market townes to worke for money, for God hath ordenyd that gold and silver shulde be brought out of other contreys into Englonde for wollen clothes and for other commodities, which God gevith yerly to the realme; otherwise cane be no plentie of money in the realme but brought in for our riche commodities value for value. So long as our owne English merchauntes ar sufferid to cary our wollen clothes out of the realme to sell in other contreys and for theym bring in no gold nor silver into the realme, never shall be no plentie of money, but riche merchauntes and merchaundizes and pore king and lordes and pore commons. Therfore all clothe makers and other artificers muste dwell to gethers in market townes like as in old tyme, and the high prices of all sortes of woles in the realme muste be mynyshed to the low price agayne as in olde tyme. For that entent the felowship of clothers and stapellers muste be called before the kinges grace and his honorable counseill to shew by the recordes of the staple bokes what prices all sortes of woles bought and sold in Englonde but 124 yeres passed, and theruppon to charge alle stapellers and clothmakers to pay no higher price for woles now like as in old tyme. That is no new invencion for people to murmor or to grudg, yf the king restore his common people

members in the body of his realme to the same welth that they were in olde tyme. What one man shal be agenste that acte of the common weale, a thousand comon people shall hold with the king agenste that wiked man, for the mynyshing of all sortes of woles to the half prices, lyke as they were in old tyme. Yt shall cause the pasturers of shepe to open their closiers and suffer the more erth to be wrought by workes of husbandry to encrese the more plentie of vitales in the holl realme, that clothmakers and all other artificers may kepe their howsholdes good chepe and geve lesse wages to all artificers to make Inglishe clothes and all other thinges good chepe.

Wherupon it may please our gracious king of Englond to make a staple of all wollen clothes in London and that all clothe makers with their artificers dwell to gethers in market townes like as in old tyme, and that every market towne of clothe making have a common seale and every wollen clothe made within the presinct and libertie and fredome of the towne, to recourde the trew making of all wollen clothes [be] so sealed with the sealles of the townes wherin they be made; theruppon to be brought to the kinges staple of wollen clothe in London, ther to be sealed with the kinges seale of his staple, to recorde all the wollen clothes made in Englond, bought and sold by way of the kinges staple, having the staple seale; [then they] shal be openly knowen to be trewe made clothes, whersoever they be bought and sold. So shall all Englishe clothers never be slaundered in no other realmes and contries for false making, like as merchaunte adventurers in London hath caused fauls clothes to be made in Englonde for low prices to trucke and barter theym for merchaundizes and slayte wares in other contris, for [*sic*, not] forcyng for their owne falshod nor for the slander and dishonor of the realme. And under the pretence of the same slander, merchauntes in Anwarpe and other contrys and townes in the Loo contries hath and doth use to streche Englishe clothes upon tayntors five or six yerdes longer in every clothe and so sell theym unto the Almaynes, which muste nedes shrynk ageyn. And the Almayns complaynyng of that falshod, the merchauntes of the Low contryes, which doth so falsily, excusith themself, saying: Englishe wole is the beste, but the clothes draped therof ar falsely made,

which saying helpeth the sale of their owne contrey clothes made with Englishe wolles and Spaynyshe wolles, which will not suffer to be streched. And their untrue saying slaunderith the sale of Englishe clothes for lake that their true making of theym is not recordyd by a staple seale.

A staple of wollen cloth in London shal be the moste notable thing for the honor and profite of Englond that ever was, by reasone of good chepe wolles shall cause grete nombre of common people to have labours and lyvinge to make good chepe clothes of true making, which shall cause all strangers to bring plentie of gold and silver into Englonde yerly to bye moche better chepe clothes at the kinges staple in London, then cane be made in other contreys. And all clothes, that strangers shal bye of the very clothmakers at the kinges staple, shall pay redy money for theym, gold and silver, like in olde tyme. And at the kinges staple to have a chaunge kepte, wherby all sortes of strange gold and silver mynted and unmynted shal be serchid, assaied and valued at rather higher prices in Englonde then in other contries, to cause all strangers to bring the more plentie of gold and silver yerly into the realme for theire own advauntage. In that maner wyse gold and silver shal be brought into Englonde for all wollen clothes solde at the kinges staple in London within the realme.

But then muste an ordre be made, that Englishe merchaunte adventurers in London shall pay as moche custome as strangers doth pay for all wollen clothes caried out of the realme to sell at the martes in the Loo contries. For by reason that merchaunte adventurers pay almoste 4 *s.* lesse custome of every cloth then strangers, therfor so longe as all strangers may by clothes of Englisshe merchauntes at the martes in Flanders better chepe then in Englonde and save 4 *s.* in every clothe for the custome, [they] will not by clothes in Englonde. Therfor the policy to cause all strangers to bring plentie of gold and silver yerly into Englonde to bye clothe, such an ordre muste be hadd, that clothes muste be solde at the kinges staple muche better chepe and trulyer made then in other contreys, and that all strangers and Englishe merchauntes pay like custome to cary all wollen clothes out of the realme; and that shall profite the king every yere more then 16000*l.* in his custome and shall cause all strangers by their

comyng into Englond to bye wollen clothes at the kinges staple, to spende above 20000 marckes of their owne money in the realme for their expences, costes, and charges. Wheras Englishe merchauntes, by carrying wollen clothes out of Englond to the martes in the Loo contreis to sell, spendith of their owne money above 20000 marckes every yere for the expences, costes and charges. By that reason they have made other contries riche and Englonde pore. Wherfore yf a right ordre may be hade to cause all strangers to bye their clothes in Englond at the kinges staple, then shall they bring gold and silver into Englonde and pay yt to clothmakers above the value of a 28000*l.* every yere; and then shall clothe makers cary the same money into all market townes of cloth making in the hole realme and shall distribut it to the artyfycers, which shall pay it to fermours and husbondmen of the contrey for wolles, mete and drinke, by whose handes the same money shall come to the handes of the king and his lordes of the erthe; by that meanes to have plenty of money not to have nede to seke wisedome and policy by actes of parliament to gether money out of the handes of common people of that little store which is within the realme, but all way to have plenty of money, which shall be yerly brought into Englonde out of other realmes. And for the subsidew of that 28000 poundes a yere, which the king shulde have, yf it ware retorned in wares and merchaundizes, as it hath been to the distruccion of the holl realme, his grace shall have 12000*l.* every yere for the seale of his staple, which shal be more profitable to his grace, and so grete plentie of gold and silver brought into Englonde by his staple shal be more profitable to the hole realme, considering the riche commodities which God of his grace gevith yerly to Englond, how ther is yerly caried out of the realme abought the value of a 600000 poundes. And therfor is not 10000*l.* in gold and silver brought yerly in Englonde more then is caried oute by owne meane and other; in example what scarsite of money is alwayes in the realme. And by reason of gret abundaunce of strange merchaundyses and wares brought yerly into Englonde hath not only causid scarsite of money, but hath distroyed all handycraftes, wherby gret nombre of common people shuld have workes to gete money to pay for their mete

and drinke, which of very necessite muste lyf idelly and begg and stele or seke their lyving by suche faulse meanes, as it is to see, how people cannot lyve in right order one with an other, because the king being the hede of his lordes, knyghttes and squiers, which ar his armes, handes and fyngers, doo not mynystre to all common people bodyly members suche giftes of grace as God yerly gevith to theym, which they shuld worke for the common weale of the hole realme.

All people in England lyvith comonly evyn as they lyste with workes of syne and myschif to gete singler richis one frome an other, having no drede of Gode, but only dreding the actuall paynes and ponyshment of the law, howsoever the wiked people workith myschief to distroy one an other, wherby to dystroy the comon weale of the hole realme. What so ever they doo, no remedy is in Englonde, yf ther be no acte of parliament made to the contrary, and whan any playnyth of the distruccion of the welth of comon people, [he] is brought afore the king and his lordes in the hedd howse. Therfor cane they make no acte nor good order for the welth of the common people, but remyttyth all causes to pase by the wisedome, content, will and agrement of theym which ar in the common howse, thinking that suche as ar in the common howse shuld specially entende the welth of all common pepole, the kinges bodyly members. Who woll serch may prove, whether suche sortes ar not in the common howse, which hath distroyed the welth of the king and his lordes and common people, gettyng every yere above 200000 poundes out of the common weale into their syngler weale; whether ther be not fermors in the common howse, which hath gotten 6 or 7 or 10, 12 or 14 farmes of the king and his lordes, and by ther leases ar made lordes of theire lande and by that reason withholdith the lordes erthe frome the workes of the common people. And whether the enclosiers of pastures for shepe, and graciers and regraters of corne and catalles, ar not in the common howse, and merchauntes, byers and sellers, which gettyth their richis out of the common weale, alway studying by their policy of plenty of all thinges to make scarsitie, so as by their meanes common people ar brought into nede and necessite to worke syne and myschiff. And whether lawers ar not of the common howse,

which gettyth their richis rysyng out of the workes of syne and myscheff of the common people, for robbyng and stellyng richis one frome an other, and for disceyving and begilling on a nother, and for stryf, variaunce and debate on agenste a nother. In example whether the richis that merchauntes, beyers and sellers and lawers gettith of the common people yerly, risith not out of their necessite and scarsite, vexacion, tribulacion, angwise and payne. Ergo, whether thos sortes in the common howse may well content and agre that all common people shuld lyve out of suche workes of syne and myschif, out of which they gete all their richis. And yf the king and his lordes in the hedd howse wold mynyster the riche giftes of grace to the comon people, which God gevith theym yerly to worke for the common weale of the hole realme, they in the common howse, which hath and doth distroy the common weale, cannot suffer no acte passe for the common weale, but they muste nedes distroy their owne singuler weale.

Therfor the king and his lordes of the erth hath nede to ordeyn that the common weale of the hole realme may by his mynysters be mynysterd in all market townes, wherin all wollen clothes ar wrought and made, for therin the common weale restith. And by that reason the king and his lordes shall never more be trobeled with no workes of actes of parliament for the common weale, but to the governors and rewlers of his riche townes, which shall have gold and silver brought out of all other contries for our wolles and wollen clothes, etc., value for value. Therfor all the gold and silver brought into Englonde by strangers shal be in market townes by clothmakers paied for wages to their artificers, which with the same money shall bye vitalles of husbande men and fermers in all contreys in the realme, and by their handes the same money shall come to the handes of the king and his lordes, and so shall gold and silver encresse yerly in Englonde and make the holl body of the realme riche, and so shall the king and his lordes be riche like as in old tyme, to have no nede to stody how to gader money out of that little quantitie of money which is in the handes of the commons, in the realme to make scarsite.

All lordes were riche in olde tyme, which kept welthy hows-

holdes and bilded substanciall howses, not having the riches now able to doo suche actes by reason of the riche commodities, which God giveth yerly by all the common people to worke for the common weale of all the holl realme, which common weale is now distroyed by a few pore mens childern suffered to be merchauntes, beyers and sellers, having all the holl commodities in the realme in their handes to occupie like as they liste. Therfor Englonde cane never be made a riche realme but by the meanes of a staple of wollen clothe, that all strangers may bring gold and silver into the realme, wherwith to by clothes of the very clothmakers. And that all sortes of wolles in Englond may be bought and solde for half price now like as they were but 60 yeres paste, [which] shall cause the more nombre of common people to drape clothes and to worke theym so substancially and truly by the recorde of every towne seale, wher they are made; and theruppon to be brought to the kinges staple to be seald with the staple seale to recorde their true making in all contries, wher-soever they shalbe bought and sold; though any strangers in other contries falsely hurte theym by straynyng or otherwise, yf they have the seale of the kinges staple [it] shall wittenyse their true making, whan they were bought at the kinges staple. And if it can be provide [*i.e.* proved], that any Englishe men by clothes at the kinges staple and worke any faused [*i.e.* falsehood] with theym in Englonde, before they be caried out of the realme, wherby the wittenyse of the seale of the kinges staple shuld be slandered, that all such shuld be ponyshed in example. The very cause, wherof all strangers shal be glade to bring plentie of gold and silver into Englonde to bey clothes at the kinges staple, shal be by reason that woles shal be so grete chepe, and that shall cause the more erth to be tilled by workes of husbandry and make vitalles good chepe.

So as all clothmakers may kepe howsholdes for lesse charge and pay the lesse money for wages and for all workes belonging to clothmaking, which muste nedes cause all wollen clothes to be so grete chepe and suerly wrought, that all strangers shal be glade to bring plentie of gold and silver out of all contries into Englonde daily to bye theym at the kinges staple, to be kept in a convenyent place in London, callyd Ledyn Hall, which is a

goodly howse for that entente; and therin to kepe a chaunge appertenyng to the kinges mynte in the Tower, that all gold and silver brought into the realm by strangers unmynted and all strange coyns which ar not curraunt for clothmakers to pay to common people in the realme, shal be chaunged into Englishe coynes by the keper of the chaunge at the kinges precyd [*i.e.* precept] at the mooste value, to cause all strangers to bring plentie of gold and silver into the realme, to understand how that the mynyshing of the pricys of money in Englonde hath alway caused grete quantitie of money to be caried out of the realme by our owne Englishe merchauntes moste of all other. For when all barred plakkes wer firste disabullid and secundly all Romans grottes and pence of 2 *d.* and after that dandy prattes, which were caried out of Englonde unto the martes in the Loo contreys by Englishe merchauntes, some one caried over a busshell at a marte; and when galy halfpens, not weying 4 of theym oon peny, yet were they better then on peny worth of slite merchaundizes as wynes and silkes, ones every yere piste agenste the walles and torne to ragges, better to have plentie of gold and silver in the realm then plentie of merchauntes and merchandizes. Galy halfpence was a necessary money for all pore peple, though they whiche brought theim into the realme hade grete profite by theym. Therfore never banyshe no gold nor silver out of the realme, but [let] all people have knowledg at what price to receyve it of strangers to the moste value. And he that kepith the chaung at the kinges staple, to cary all strange gold and silver mynted and unmynted at the kinges mynte in the Tower of London. And that no man be sured to hier nor ferme the kinges mynte for no singuler weale to refuse the receyving of strange gold and silver, which shuld encresse riches for the common weale.

The kinges grace for diverse consideracions muste take the fredome of London into his handes to make his staple at Ledyn Hall free for all strangers, wher as to this day strangers and clothmakers cannot bye and sell togetheres in London but by the meanes of a freman of London, by whome all strangers beyeth clothes at the seconde hande, therfor bringeth all maner of merchandizes to London to barter for clothes and no money,

and likewise Londoners barteryth merchaundizes for clothes with the clothers and little money. In the charter of London is wretyn, how the fredome shall not be takyn away for no [of]fence of any one man but for the offence of the holl citie agenste the common weale of the holl realme, as it is not convenyent to suffer on man to distroy an holl occupacion or an occupacion to distroy a holl citie nor one citie to distroy the common weale of a holl realme. Therfor the king hath nede to take the fredome of the citie into his handes, unto [until] his grace hath reformed diverse causes for the common weale of the holl realme. The salve muste worke the remedy in London, wher the sore is furste. The kinges staple in Ledyn Hall muste be made free for all strangers therin to bye all wollen clothes of the very clothmakers and pay theym redy money, not to be interrupte[d] ne letted by no fredome of the citie. And yf a fewe citizens now lyving thinke their bying and selling of wollen clothes shal be distroyed by that meanes, all riche men being agyde [*i.e.* aged] ar out of nede and yong men may set upe draping of fyne wollen clothes like as afore tyme and therby gete their lyving truly withowt any crafte or policy. Secondly ther muste be a somme of money ordenyd in London so moche as shall vitall the holl citie in itself to have no nede of no vitalles in the contrey. The cause of all grasiers and regraters of corne and catalles and of all maulte men hath been onely for that London hath not made provycion to vitall itself, so as never shal be vitalles in London plentie for pore people to drape fyne wollen clothes nor to make all workes of artificialite good chepe before London vitall itself lyke as it was vitalled in old tyme. Ther is money inough in London for that purpose, though nother the king nor no man lyving geve nor lende no peny therto, like as it shal be shewed, how whan tyme shall require and all the ordre of mynysters and officers in the citie ordenyd to make all provicions of vitalles for the citie. On notable provicion shal be to encrese plentie of vitalles in the holl realme by reasone that the citie of London and all other cities and market townes of clothmaking in Englonde shall have stokes of money every in itself to make provision to vitall itself, that all artificiall people therin may make all thinges grete chepe. And by that reason having stokkes of money shall bye their

vitales alway of the pore husbondmen, which riche fermors, graciers and regratours bieth grete chepe of pore men for nede and sell it ageyne derely to all artificers in market townes. For all biers and sellers of vitalles sekith daily of plentie to make derth and scarsite. Therfor the worke[r]s of artificialite must have stokes of money in every market towne to by vitalles of the pore workers of husbandry, the oon sorte to helpe the other, and so distroy all such sortes as byeth and sellith vitalles for their owne singularite.

The remedy to encresse all Englonde with plentie of vitalles shal be by reason of the stokkes of money in all cities and townes of clothmaking in the realme, so as the king and his lordes shall not nede to troble theymself to make no actes of parliament, which cane never prevayle, seing how no acte for the common weale cane passe these sortes in the common howse which gettith their riches from the commonaltie to their owne singularite, and for the common weale will not distroy their owne singuler weale. All merchauntes, byers and sellers in London or elles wher, ar commonly pore mens sones naturall borne to labour for their lyving, which after they be bounde prentises to be merchauntes, all their labour, stody and policy is be [*i.e.* by] bying and selling to gete singler richis frome the communaltie, and never workith to gete their lyving nother by workes of husbandry nor artificialite, but lyveth by other menes workes and of naught risith to grete richis, entending no thing elles but only to gete richis, which knowith no common weale. For as moche all other stodye is onely for their owne singler weale, merchauntes in London may be excused by their ignoraucy, though they have distroied the plentie of vitalles and money in the holl realme, they knowe not how nor by what meanes, but lyvith after the common course of merchauntes, gett richis how and by what meanes they force not in their conscience, not dreding the rightwise judgment of God, but for dred of the law they axe counseill of lawers, what richis they cane gete, whether they may hold it and kepe it by the law, that no acte be to the contrary for fere of losyng therof. In example to se, whether all merchauntes in experience doo not so lyve only under the lawe without faith after a staple of wollen cloth is set upe in London.

All and so lyvith without faith cannot have grace to lyve in the will or mercy of God, that is the new testement, for by grace all men ar justified and savyd thorow faith. All thinge what is not of faith is syne.

All wollen clothes made in all townes of clothmaking in Englonde, before they be brought to the kinges staple, muste have the seale of the towne wher they ar made, and at the enseyling therof the clothmaker to pay one peny for the weving and one peny for the fulling and one peny for the dying, that is a grott of every cloth, which the clothmaker shall stope in his handes in paying the wever, fuller, sherman and dier, and that grote to be putt to the common stokk of the towne to vitall the pore artificers besyde other money daily reisid for the same pores. By suche reason all stokkes shall ryse and encresse in market townes of clothmaking in a short tyme and riche clothers may lende their money for that purpose in meane tyme and have it ageyne.

Suerly the common weale of Englonde muste rise out of the workes of the common people. The workes of husbandry encressith plentie of vitalles and the workes of artificialite encressith plenty of money. What sorte distroieth the workes of common people distroieth Goddes workes and causith necessite, for God gevith no mete to common people but by their workes: the workes of common people shall encresse Englonde 400000 marckes every yere in golde and silver more then hath been. In example, to consider how ther is caried out of Englonde in woles, wollen clothes, tynne, leede, and hyddes, etc., abought the value of 600000 poundes every yere in gold and silver yerly more then is caried out daily by on meanes or other. And wheras merchaundizes is now brought into Englond yerly to the value of a 400000 markes more then was in old tyme, which myght be spared or made within the realme, not only to save so moch money spent out of the realme, but also to sete common people daily to worke in a right ordre of the common weale to kepe theym out of idelnes frome working syne and myschif. Ther is now brought out of other contreys into Englonde to the value of a 100000 poundes of lynnyn cloth every yere. In example, if every parishe in Englonde spente but 40 *s.*

in shertes and smokkes and other lynnyn besyde that that is made with in the realme, grete nombre of yonge maydens and women may be set to spyne lynnyn cloth, which lyvith idully in hordome and bawdery; marvelyng to see the foly, how Inglishe merchauntes spendith in Flaunders a 100000 marckes a yere for lynnyn cloth, and they have banysshid Englishe wollen clothes and ther will suffer non to be bought. And the wynes now browght into Englonde, to the value of 100000 marckes more then in old tyme, may be spared, which is spent emonges unchristie people and oons every yere pyssed agenst the walles. And the silke which is brought into Englonde to the value of 100000 marckes now, which was not in olde tyme, may be spared, and so grete nombre of common people may be set to worke so moche the more wollen clothe to clothe all people lyke as in old tyme, when no silke [was] worne nor usyd. And ther is 100000 marckes in value of artificiall thinges made in other contreys brought into Englonde yerly, which may be made by worke of common people within the realme as well as without. This value of 400000 marckes in merchaundizes brought into the realme yerly, to make such ordre that it shal be yerly made within the realme.

And that all strangers may bring gold and silver into the realme to by wollen clothes at the kinges staple, will cause theym to bring 27 or 28000*l.* at the leste to cary theym out of the realme, paying no more custome then Englishe men. And to bye theym so grete chepe shall cause all strangers to resourte to Englonde now ageyne like as in old tyme. And considering how the staple of woles by reasone of the good chepe wolles shall bring a 50000*l.* in gold and silver into Englond yerly, that more then 200000*l.* by meane of bothe stapelles now accompt the resydew of the value of 600000*l.* yerly incressed of the commodities of Englonde, ether muste Englishe merchauntes[1] what they cary out of the realme, ether muste they bring into the realme the value theroff in substanciall nedfull merchandizes, as [w]odde, alame, madder and woll oyle, and such other thinges for draping of wollen clothes, and all manner of spices and iron, pyche, tere, wex, bowstavis, coper, lattyn, wyer and all other

[1] Some word omitted.

thinges which is neadfull for the common weale of the realme, which Godd hath ordenyd in other contreys and not in Englond; and what Englishe merchauntes cariethe out of Englonde to more value then all such nedfull merchaundizes must therfore bring gold and silver, for as moch as they shall no more bring into the realme suche thinges as may be sparid or made within the realme to the value of 400000 marckes by yere; by such an ordre Englonde by Goddes grace may shortely be made a riche realme. One reason is, wherby merchauntes in London hath gretly distroyed the common weale of the holl realme, by receyvyng such thinges of strangers as hath been to the distruction of the common people, for no strangers could hurte Englond by bringing in any merchaundizes into the realme, yf no English merchauntes wold by it and receyve it to the distruction of the realm. Esterlynges of Spruse and of other parties in the Est contrey hath been profitable merchauntes for the realme in old tyme, before they toke Coloners into their Haunce.

4. CROWLEY ON THE COLLIER OF CROYDON, 1550.

[One and Thyrtye Epigrammes, in Select Works of Robert Crowley, ed. J. M. Cowper (E.E.T.S., 1872), p. 20.]

It is sayde, that in Croydon there dyd sometyme dwell
A Colier, that dyd all other Coliers excell.
For his riches thys Colier myght haue bene a knight;
But in the order of knighthode he hadde no delyght.
Woulde God all our knightes dyd minde colinge no more,
Than this Colier dyd knyghtyng, as is sayde before!
For when none but pore Colyars dyd wyth coles mell,
At a reasonable price they dyd theyr coles sell;
But sence oure Knyght Colyars haue had the fyrste sale,
We haue payed much money and had fewe sackes to tale.
A lode that of late yeres for a royall was solde,
Wyll coste nowe xvi *s.* of syluer or golde.
God graunt these men grace theyr pollyng to refrayne,
Or els bryng them backe to theyr olde state agayne.
And especially the Colyar that at Croydon doth sell;
For men thyncke he is cosen to the Colyar of Hell.

5. WILLIAM CHOLMELEY'S PROJECT FOR DYEING CLOTH IN ENGLAND, 1553.

[The Request and Suite of a True-Hearted Englishman, written by William Cholmeley, Londyner, in the year 1553, ed. W. J. Thoms (Camden Soc., 1853), pp. 1-20.]

Beyng moved by the instinct of nature, moost dreade Soveraigne, to wish good unto this my naturall contrey, I have sundrye tymes consydered the goodly and ryche commodities wherwith the Almightie Maker of all thinges hathe so abundantly blessed this littell corner of the earth.

And fynding the same to be so nedefull to man's beyng, that for the necessitie of them no nation maye lacke them, and so perfect, that for the goodlynes of them all nations be desyrous of them, I was occasioned greatly to lament that, eyther for lacke of thinges therunto belongyng, eyther for lacke of studious desyre of the knowledge to do thynges perfectly and well, or else for lacke of wyttis apt to receyve the knowledge of such thynges, we were not able to adde that perfection to our commodities which nature hath lefte to be finyshed by arte.

But when I consydered how the unserchable purpose of God hath, by the lacke of necessarie commodities, dryven all the nations of the earth to seke one upon another, and therby to be knyt togither in amitye and love, I thought that, as this realme lacketh (and that naturally) thynges necessarily required to the perfecting of oure commodities, it myght also be a thyng naturall to the English nation to be so unperfect of wytt that we coulde never be able to attayne to the knowledge of true and perfect workemanshyp, because God woulde dryve us therby to suffer other nations to have a commoditie by makyng oure commodities perfect.

Which my conjecture semed to me so muche the more probable, for that it hath ben attempted at sundry tymes, and that by the high powers of this realme, to have that thing well and perfectly done by the Englyshe nation, for the accomplishing wherof nothing is wantyng, savynge only the knowledge to use those thinges aryght wherwith it is done; and yet to this daye it coulde never be brought to passe.

This notwithstandyng, I have conceyved a better opinyon of God's mercyfull kyndnes towardis us Englyshemen, then that the inhabilitie of oure wyttes shuld be the cause that we attayne not to this knowledge; and do rather ascrybe it to oure beastly blyndnesse, which wyll not suffer us to searche for that knowledge which oure wyttes are able enough to attayne, as experience teacheth us in suche of the Englyshe nation as have ernestly bent themselves to the studye of musycke, or any other the liberall artis.

I am perswadyd therfore that God hath not enryched us with commodities which we can not through the weakenes of oure wittis make perfect; but rather we, beynge beastly mynded, and sekyng to gayne much by doynge lyttle, every man sekeyng his owne pryvate commoditie, without regarde of the weale publike, do not diligently applye oure good wyttis to the serchyng oute of good knowledge, but to the inventyng of subtyle dysceyte (wherin we excell al other nations), to our pryvate avancement, but the decaye of the publycke weale of oure contrey.

For as God hath enryched us with woulle, leade, lether, and tynne, so hath he enryched other contreyes with other commodities which we may in nowyse lacke. And yet he hath not denied to any of those nations the power of reasone, wherby they maye be able to make those theyr commodities so perfect by workemanship, that they nede none of oure helpe in the doyng therof. So in lyke maner God hath not gyven us woulle in such goodly plentye, and so fyne, to make us sheperdes only and merchauntis of woule, denying us the power of reasone to worke the same in cloth and cappis, as fynely, truly, and perfectly as any other nations shal be able to doe.

It is oure gredye desyre of gettyng pryvate commoditie therfore that causeth us falsely to accuse the almyghtie maker of all mankynde of ingratitude towardes us, affirmyng that he hath denyed us the aptnesse to conceyve knowledge, wher as no nation under the heaven is more bounde to give God thankes in this behalfe then we are.

I therfore, as one to whom God hath gyven leaste knowledge, have attempted to playe the part of younge David, to take awaye the rebuke of my contreymen, and to be revenged upon

them that falsely have reported that oure most lovyng Father and mercyfull Lorde hath dealt most unlovyngly and unmercyfully with us Englyshe men, denying unto us the thinge which he hath graunted to all mankynde by nature, that is, the aptnesse of wytt to be perfect workemen.

And because that amonge oure commodities ther is none more nedefull to be wrought by us Englyshemen then woulle, forasmuch as of it are made boeth cloth and cappis, which every man muste necessarily weare, I have attempted to have the same wroughte and dyed within this realme by Englyshemen as substantyallye, truly, and perfectly well as ever it was, is, or can be done in Flanders or in France, or any other parte of all the whole worlde.

And because the greatest difficultie, and only harde poynte of this myne attempted enterpryse, consisteth in the true and perfecte dying of cloth and cappis, with wodde and mader, I thought good to trye first what myght be done therin, not doubtyng to bryng all thinges easyly to passe, if I mighte once attayne to the knowledge of the hardest poynt.

And to atchyve this my first purposed enterpryse, I sent to Anwarpe, and there procured for wages a man verye expert in the feate of dyinge, and wyllinge to serve in Englande, so that he myght sustayne no losse nor displeasure, if for lacke of water good for that purpose he could not performe the thinge that I requyred; for the dyars of Englande have raysed a foule slaunder upon the famouse river of Temys, and all other waters of this your majesties realme, affyrmyng that the water therof wyll not serve to dye substanciall, true, and perfect colours withall, whear as no water in the whole worlde serveth better for the purpose then my workeman hath tryed the water of Temes to do.

To take awaye this let of this workman's connyng, I my selfe (beinge no man of great substance, and yet able to sustayne so muche losse if it had so chaunced) toke the whole adventure in hande, determinyng to put in hasarde so muche for the wealth of my contrey.

And susteyneyng no losse by the firste adventure, but enjoyng a sufficient gayne, I conditioned with my sayde workeman for

the term of x yeres, makyng a dyar of your majesties boroughe of Southwarke (who hath al maner implement to dying belongyng) halfe partnar with me duryng the tyme of the covenaunte made with my workeman, because that of my selfe I am not able (neyther hath it been my bryngyng up) to furnishe a dye house with all thinges thereto belongyng.

Thus have my partnar and I occupyed togyther the space of three yeres last past, either for us gayneing clearly by yere one hundred markes at the least upon the only dyinge of carsayes, broade clothes, and cappis, after the maner of the dyinge in Fraunce and Flaunders; which workemanship by my workeman done, and by the wearying tryed, is founde to be as good, substanciall, true, and perfect as any that hath ben or is dyed in the realme of France, Anwarp, or any other place beyonde the seas; which thynge must nedis be very beneficiall to me and my partnar, for as much as ther is none in all this realme that doeth or can do the thing but only oure only workeman and suche as have or shall learne it at his hande, which can be none but suche as we must nedis have great commoditie by.

Notwithstanding, I for my parte, nothyng regardynge the pryvate gayne that doeth and myght growe to me warde by the meane of the singularitie of the feate, used by none other in all this realme but by me and my partnar, have thought it my duitie to make the thinge knowen to your majestie, that by thadvise of your most honorable counsellours your auctoritie myght make the feate common to all your loveing and faythfull subjectes, not only the dyars of the citie of London, but of all other cities and townes in al your majesties dominions; to the greate honoure of this realme in the abandonyng of all desceytfull coloures, and takyng away the reproche and shame of the Englysh nation, which is reconned to be so grose wytted that they be not able to attayne to the knowledge of the perfect workemanship of their owne commodities; to the full contentation of your majestie and of your nobles, who are or shall be delyted in the wearynge of true and perfect good cloth trewly dyed at a reasonable pryce, rejecting all vayne and unprofitable silkes which at this daye are al to excessyve

a pryce; and to the incomparable commoditie of this your majesties realme and subjectes in that behalfe, wherby the same maye in tyme be enryched with infinite treasure, as forthwith I shall declare.

Fyrst, it may pleas your majestie to understande that yerelye ther is caryed out of this realme by Englyshe merchauntes and strayngers to the number of one hundreth and fyftye thousande broade clothes at the least, undyed and undressed.

Secondly, that the same be all wrought in Flaunders, Hollande, Brabant, Zealande, Eastlande, and Doucheland, to the settyng at worke of two hundreth thousande persons and above.

Thyrdly, that upon every of the sayde clothes is gayned by the cloth workars and dyars towardis their lyveing and sustenation at the least xx$^{s.}$, which amounteth to the summe of j^{c} l^{m} poundis by the yere, besydes the gayne that ryseth upon the utteraunce of so much woade, mather, allume, and other thinges as necessarily appertayneth to the dyinge and dressyng of those clothes.

Fourthly, that our marchauntis do by martyng in Anwarp spende yerely in packehouse romes, in chambers and ostynge, with expenses in journeyinge to and fro, the summe of xxij^{m} poundis, which summe beinge added to the former summe of j^{c} l^{m} poundes amounteth to j^{c} lxxij^{m} *li.*, which might growe of the laboure of youre majesties subjectis by true and perfect dying and dressyng of cloth, if the same were done within youre realme, if the Englysh nation helde their marte within youre majesties sayd realme of Englande.

Fyftly, and laste, it may please your majestie to understande, that the martynge of oure merchauntis of Anwarp is the drawing thyther of the whole worlde of merchauntis, which are in number even xx^{ti} tymes so many as our marchauntis be, and spende xx^{ti} tymes so muche as oure marchauntis do, which is iiij^{c} xl^{m} *li.*, to the greate enrichyng of those contreys; which great commoditie, or at the least waye the greatest part therof, shulde be ours, if our marchauntis helde ther mart within this realme; for all marchauntis of this part of the worlde doe and must of necessitie seke our cloth as the chepe marchaundice that

marchaundizeth in all quarters of the worlde as well as golde and sylver do.

But nowe me thyncketh I see a whole legion of marchauntis, dyars, and drapers of this realme of England (even utter enemies to the weale publicke of the same) bendyng them selves agaynst myne enterprise, who (no dought) wyll brynge in a whole sea of objections agaynst that which I have wrytten. Wherfore I have thought it mete that I answer to suche theyr objections as seame to have in them some shewe of trueth, to thentent that your majestie maye understande that I have not rashely enterprised to geve your majestie information in these thinges without consideryng what wylbe sayde to the contrarye by them that feare the losse of a singular commoditie, when the publyke weale shalbe advanced.

The fyrst objection :—

And fyrste standeth forth the drapar, and he objecteth for his parte, sayinge, Our Englyshmen cannot dye the Flemmysh and French blacke lyke as the Frenchmen and Flemmynges, wherfore we must nedis have them dyed beyounde the seas.

The seconde objection :—

Then steppeth forth the dyar, and sayth that the water of England wyll not serve to dye those coullors withall.

The thyrde objection :—

Then sayth the marchauntman, if we shulde not carie oure clothe beyonde the seas undressed and undyed we shulde not hold our mart ther, and then howe shulde our navye be mayntayned?

The fourth objection :—

Agayne, another objecteth and sayth, If we shulde not have oure mart beyonde the seas, and let them have our cloth undressyd and undyed, they woulde make cloth them selves; so shoulde we be in a farre worse takyng then nowe, for then we shoulde have no utteraunce of our cloth at all.

The fyfte objection :—

Another sayth, that dyinge wasteth much wode, and we have scarsitie of wode alredye, and nede not to have all oure cloth dyed at whome to make our wode more scant, as it must nedes do.

The syxte objection :—

And yet another, how were it possible that we shulde be able to bryng this thinge to passe, seynge we must nedis have boeth workemen and stuffe to worke withall from them that woulde rather spende greate treasure then we shulde be able to do it.

The seventh objection :—

And yet one more objecteth, sayinge, what if the Spaniardis shoulde stay ther oyles, as they have of late stayed theyr alume, so that none myght passe but upon lycence, how shoulde we then have oyles to worke oure woules withall?

Here is an heape of objections. But if it shall please your majestie to marke howe I have learned by experyence to answer them, I do not dought but it shal be a matter for your grace to laugh at, to consyder how these men, blynded with a present pryvate commoditie, do bende them selves to bryng upon themselves and theyr posteritie an universall decaye and utter destruction.

Firste, where the draper sayeth that oure contreymen can not dye the Flemmyshe and Frenche colours; his meanyng is that they can not dye it so muche for his profyt; for if these coulours were commonly in this realme, then coulde not the draper sell that yarde of Frenche or Flemmysh blacke for iiij$^{li.}$ or more money which standeth hym not in xx$^{s.}$, as I am able to prove that they do nowe. And yet ther objection is true; our contrey men can not dye those colours aryght. But what may a man conclude upon this proposition? It semeth that the drapar woulde conclude thus: oure countreymen cannot dye the Flemmysh and French colours; *ergo*, it were not good, or it is not possible, for them to learne. But a logitian wyll conclude thus: *Ergo*, it were good that they did by some meane learne it, for these colours are necessary for the Englysh nation. But our drapar seeth no farthar then his present commoditie; he seeth not that the excessyve pryce of his fyne blacke shall dryve men rather to weare velvet and worsted of Saynt Thomas, or sylkes of Italy and Spayne, then so muche over bye his good colour. No, he seeth not how his presente commoditie spryngeth of the presente discommoditie of his neyghbours and contreymen, and that he doeth styll empoverysh his contreymen and

enryche the straungers; which must nedis, at the last, decay them by whom the drapar hym selfe hath his commoditie—and wher is master drapar then? Thus your majestie may perseyve after what sorte the drapar, havyng respecte to his present commoditie, doeth all that in hym lyeth to pull upon hymselfe, and all other his contreymen, an universall decay and distruction.

Then where the dyar sayth that the waters of this contrey wyll not serve to set suche colours, it procedeth not of knowledge, as it appeareth by that my workeman hath and doeth with the water of Temmis set as good colours as ever wer sett in Flaunders or Fraunce. But they woulde fayne that the water should not serve, because it wer not good theyr ignoraunce to be knowen, and the great gyle uttered wherby they also have a pryvate commoditie, in that they have as much monye for a false colour as they shulde have then for a true coloure. They would not be bounde to the degrees of wodde, as the dyars ar at Anwarp, and be in other contreys. They would not that men should knowe the first degree of wodde that apperteyneth to a blacke, nor the seconde, thurde, nor fourth degree; they woulde not that men shulde be so wyse to understande, whan they go to see or bye a pece of cloth, to know what wodde and howe much, or what coste was put theron; noe, it is not convenyent for the dyars, nor yet for the drapars profittis that we Englyshmen shulde be so skylfull, for that the best wodde that our dyars occupye is masterynge as they terme it, and that is the blacke panne of rynes, barkes, galles, coppores, afterwarde floryshed up with a shewe of disceytfull brasell, wherby they take great hyre for slender coste. But now master dyar, supposyng to take me in great advantage as a lyar, wyll stoutly saye that they do wodde all theyr clothes that serve for blacke. Indede for the greater parte I graunt they so do, but as the Englyshe proverbe goeth, "as good never awhytt, as never the better," for that they geve suche wodde for a blacke as scantly wyll serve for a grene or tawny; gevyng the fonde drapar for iiij$^{d.}$ in wodde that is not worth j$^{d.}$, and suche as when mader cannot serve to make it a treu, good, and perfecte blacke, but rather a redd, it is then cast into the blacke pan, and there fynished. Thus and for theire occasions the dyar saith that the water will not serve,

because they would not have it serve, respectyng only ther owne present commoditie, not consyderyng that theyr contreymen that be thus desceyved by them shall at the last fall to wearyng of cheper coullours; suche lyke as they have alredye done, not only to the utter decaye of all dying in this realme, but also to the great diffacyng of oure owne commoditie by wearyng of cloth, for at this daye no man almost wyll meddle with any coullours of clothe touchinge wodde and mader, unlesse it beare the name of Frenche or Flaunders dye; so that partly by that so manye as be able to bye a cloth dyed in Flaunders or Fraunce wyll not medle with any cloth that is dyed within this realme. This must nedis (in tyme) brynge an universall decaye upon the dyars, as a just plage for that they, respectyng their pryvate and present commoditie only, cannot se their owne decaye, which is even at hande. It were to longe to declare to your majestie all the ignorance of this sorte of people, which causeth them to destroy not only that wodde, allum, and mader which they bestowe upon the cloth that they wodde, but also washe awaye and poure downe the gutters well most as muche good stuffe as they cast awaye upon the cloth, and all is because they knowe not (neyther will they learne) to order it aright; wheras my forsayde workeman, as one knowyng the nature of thinges wherwith he worketh, bestoweth all upon the cloth, and maketh a true, even, and perfecte colour, without any waste of stuffe, or dysceyte of any desceytful thinges; which oure dyars in no wyse can doe: and all theise colours can my workeman doe, which the dyars of Englande cannot doe, out of whight wolen clothes and carseys, as fyrst grenes, tawneys, blewes, sadde or light, mourrey, browne blews, and sadde or light blackes, or othere whatsoever to wodde and mader appertayneth.

Now, for the marchaunt man's objection, wherin he demaundeth how oure navye shoulde be mayntayned, if we shoulde dresse and dye our cloth at home, and not holde our mart in some foren contrey. I saye, and experyence shall prove it, that oure navye should be better mayntayned then it is nowe; for how is it Holland, Sealland, and Flaunders have so great a multitude of great hulkes and shipps? are they not maintayned by the menes of the mart at Anwarpe? But the marchaunt

man sayeth, what speake you of a marte at Anwarpe and a mart at London? do ye loke to have all this parte of the worlde to come to your marte in Englande, as they doe to Anwarpe? Naye, it will not be; indede I woulde not wyshe so manye. But I am right sure that of all quarters some woulde seke us, and that so many as we shoulde desyre; for with what wyll the Italyans passe beyound them into Turky, Constantinople, Alexandria, and other farre contreys and cyties, to fetche sylkis, spyces, drugges, jewellis, currantes, gallis, malmesey (here brewydd), golde, and suche lyke, but with cloth? yea, with Englyshe cloth. And they be no longer marchauntis then they have clothe to travell withall as marchauntis. Wherwith wyll the Easterlyngis marchaundize, trucke, and bye the commodities of Polerlande, Russlande, Sweaneland, Pomerlande, Toterlande, and suche other farre contreys passynge to Rye and Revell that waye eastwarde; as masts, waynescote, hemp, pytche, tarre, ashes, wax, flex, copper, yron, and corne, which commeth so plentuously oute of Pollande? but even with Englyshe cloth. Wherwithall wyll the Spaniardis and Portugalles traffycke into Calicute, into Affrica, Barbaria, Nova Hispania, into the yles of Canarya, into Perew, Brasilia, and manye dyverse ilandis and contreys, to fetch sugar, spices, wodd, brassell (a fauls colour), golde, and other commodities? even with Englyshe cloth, as the chyffyst and best marchaundice, that marchaundizeth to them as well as golde and silver, for they are not so madde to carry coyne unto these straunge nations for straunge thynges as we do. Wherwithall woulde the colde and large contreys of Doutchlande, Almayne, and Hungarye cloth themselves, and consume the commodities which they make, as fustians and many other, if they shulde not have oure Englyshe cloth? Wherfore it is evydent that all such as must necessarilye be marchauntis into all these contreys wyll seke oure cloth in Englande, as they do nowe in Flaunders, and as they have done in tymes past in Sealande, Callis, Brydges, and Englande. And so shall oure navy be as well mayntayned by them as the navye of the emperour's lande is nowe, by passynge into all partes of the worlde with marchaundyce; yea, and oure own shippes shal be hyred to brynge whome to us all suche commodities as we shall desyre to have, boeth to

satisfye oure selves and other contreys also, to the great enrychinge of the kyngis maiestie, by his custome, and also by his welthy commons; whoe must nedis be welthy, by makyng the uttermost of their owne commoditie at the handes of straungers, without anye losse sustayned by adventure, and reseyvynge all foren commodities also by the one halfe better cheep without adventure, then they do nowe, takyng upon them all the adventure, and levynge all theyr gaynes upon ther neyghbours at home, to whome they make sale of such vayne thinges as they brynge us from beyounde the seas; for they sell oure Englyshe cloth as good cheep in Anwarp and in Spayne at this daye as ever they dyd, and so have they done all this tyme of the dearth of cloth here, and paye double for all thinges that they bryng us thense. So that the clothe which they carrye oute wyll not answer in valew those thinges which are yerely brought into this realme; for oure clothe is solde to the straungers at his olde pryce, but the marchandice that commeth in is doubled. As if the valew of all thinges that come into the realme in one yere did in tymes past amount to CCCC^{m} $^{li.}$, the same is solde to us nowe at DCCC^{m} $^{li.}$ or rather X^{cm} $^{li.}$. Oure marchauntis therfore are dryven to cary oute all thinges that may be made marchaundice. And wher all wyll not serve, monye must nedes be dysbursed and convayed hence. And be it presupposed, that in one yere they disburse but I^{m} $^{li.}$ over and besydes the valew of the cloth and other marchaundice that is carryed from hense, in x yeres this amounteth to V^{cm} $^{li.}$, which is no small sum of monye. Neyther is it any mervayle though all our olde angelles be flowen into Flaunders and Fraunce, and oure newe sufferantes sent after, with all oure fyne sylver, bothe olde and newe, seynge ther must so muche goe yerely. And yet I durst be bolde to saye (if the trueth were knowen as it doeth partly appeare) that within these xij yeres last past this realme hath ben robbed of a thousande thousande, and two hundreth thousande powndis, and rather more. And this thinge can never be remedyed, unlesse the Englysh nation withdrawe ther mart from Flaunders, for oure martyng there hath drawne thyther such a nest of marchauntis, and hath so enryched them with oure commodites, that they are able and doe knytt themselves in such companyes, contractis,

counters, and felowshipps, that so longe as they maye have our cloth brought to them they doe and wyll make us seke them, and give them oure clothes at ther owne pryce, and give them ther owne askynge for what soever commoditie is to be had of thers there; oure marchauntis therfore that alledge the decaye of oure navye are but blynded with present commoditie which they have by sellynge the marchaundice that they brynge home at to excessyfe a pryce, and by byeing and conveyghing oure fyne golde and sylver, which must nedis in tyme be the utter decay of the whole realme, and consequently of the marchauntis themselves also; but if so muche monye as the realme is yerely robbed of were yerely bestowed upon seamen, I dout not but we shoulde have as manye of your majesties subjectis fyshing in your streames as be now of Hollanders, Sealande men, and Flemmyngis; and as manye takynge fyshe upon your majesties coostis of Irelande as there be nowe Spaniardis. So that oure navye nedeth not decaye by withdrawing the mart from Anwarpe. But one lett among other is that oure marchauntis feare they should be to seke, and be set to a newe lesson, if they shoulde leve ther olde marte towne and seake a newe, which they can neyther alow nor seke, because of the present gayne, which they now gredely follow.

Well, now let us goe to the fourth objection, which maye seme to ryse upon the answer to the thyrde. If we call home oure marte (sayth one) other nations wyll make cloth themselves, and then what shall we doe with oure mart at home. I graunt they wyll make cloth, and they doe make cloth, yes, even as good as any is made in Englande; but not without Englyshe woul. No, neyther can all other nations make the xxx$^{th.}$ part so muche as the worlde requyreth and necessytie must nedis have, excepte they have oure Englysh woules. Suche is oure plentye and fyennes of woule, and theyr scarcitie and grosenes.

But what shall we saye to the fyfte [i.e. sixth] objection, wherin it is sayde that we must have al thingis to this workemanshipp belonging, and workemen also from them that would spende great treasure of monye, yea, I think and beleve v. myllyons of golde, rather then we should be able to doe it, or brynge this enterpryce to pass; and therefore it is not possyble for us to bryng it

to effect. I answer, that it is verye trueth, we must nedis have oure wodde out of Fraunce, oure mather out of Flaunders, and oure allum out of Spayne. And at the fyrst we must have workemen out of some of theyse contreys to teach oure workemen the feate. But after that oure men be instructed what nede we any of ther workemen? But if we dyd nede them coulde we lacke them? No, noe; when they shall not have our cloth to worke, they wylbe glad to be ryd of ther people that lyve by the working of it, and the workmen as gladde to be ryd of ther contrey to be there wheare they myght worke and lyve. But then they woulde kepe from us wodde, mader, and allum. How doe the Spaniardis and Flemmynges kepe theyr allum and mader from the Frenchmen in this tyme of theyr wars? I am sure the Frenche men sende not theyr clothe into Flaunders to be dyed there. The commoditie of a contrey is lyke the water of a great ryver, and as they that stop the course of a ryver, and wyll suffer no man to fetche of the water from them, shall have more discommoditie by the kepying of the water then others can have by the lacke of it, and yet in short tyme it wyll breake from them, magre theyr headdis, and so they that lacked it a whyle shall have the more plentye of it; even so, they that shall kepe the commoditie of theyr contrey from them that have the thing that it serveth for shall at the laste (yea and that within short space) be glad to let it have the ryght course, and content themselves to be marchauntis to those places where the utteraunce of theyr commodities lyeth moost best. But now master objector wyll saye that I have made a good symilitude agaynst my selfe; for if we stop oure cloth and woule a whyle, we shalbe glad to let the Flemmynges have it agayne. It is true, so long as we are not perfecte [in] workemaneshippe, we shall never have the utteraunce of halfe the cloth that oure woule wyll make; but if oure workmanshipp were once perfect, we coulde not have so muche woule growyinge in Englande as we myht utter in cloth. And I am sure it is no smale sum of mony that is bestowed yerely in Flaunders coloured cloth, in Frenche dyed cappis, in hattis, and Spaynishe feltis, only to be worne in Englande (settyng a worke all nations, but ours kepyng in ydlenes), which should not nede if our dye were as perfect as theyrs, for we have the princypall,

which is fyne woule, without which theyr coloure is to smalle purpose to marchaundice. I graunt we shoulde for a tyme have a sharpe conflycte with those stoute enymes whome we have with oure commodities and treasure enryched. But those souldiours are not worthy prayse that wyll for one sharp assalt of theyr enimyes gyve over ther hold. Neyther will they that entende to kepe a fort gyve it over so longe as they knowe them selves to be strong enough, and to have sufficient vitayles, to kepe the holde longer then theyr enemyes shal be to contynew the sydge. We might well suffer lack of thinges belongyng to pleasure (for a time), but of thingis necessarye to lyveing, as meat, drinke, and cloth, we shall have plentye longer then the Flemmyngis shalbe able to kepe from us theyr mader or any thinge ells of theyrs, unlesse we would suffer oure grounde to lye untylled, and loke to lyve lyke idle luskis, as everye man (welmoost) woulde do at this daye, and as a great many are dryven to doe, by the reasone that oure merchauntis carrye away oure commodities unwrought, whereupon oure people shoulde be set on worke. And to have abundaunce of the best commoditie (whiche is woule), a greate part of oure necessarye tyllage is turned to pasture, so that when reasonable wetheryng fayleth us we are dryven to provyde corne out of forren contreys, to our great discommoditie and dishonoure of this realme, the grounde wherof is most fertyle and apt for tillage; and this thinge must nedes be a decaye at the laste, as it partly appeareth; for notwithstandyng the seasonable wetheryng that we have hadde these late yeres, yet doeth grayne and all thingis nourished by tyllage (that is to say, hennys, capons and all other pultrye, great oxen, swyne, and thyngis belongyng to housewifery) holde styll an unreasonable pryce. It is playne, therefore, that theise objectours have an yeie only to their present commoditie, nothing what distruction it bryngeth to theyr contrey. And styll they harp on this one strynge—How can it come to passe, we are not able to compas it? It is treuth we are not, unlesse we abate of oure pleasures, and content oureselves for a tyme with necessaryes. But if the marchauntis of London, which are the cheff, and other abrode, woulde take as great travell and byde as great adventure to profyte theyr contrey, by maynetayning

theyr contreymen in worke, and utteryng thyngis wrought by them, as they doe in carying away the thingis that shoulde be wrought by them, and in bryngynge tryfelyng thynges nothynge profitable to theyr contreymen, but hurtfull, mayntayning the hole worlde of workefolke; then should we see that they coulde fynd the means to compasse not only this smalle matter, but manye other. And if the drapars, dyars and clotheworkers were as wyllyng to bestow monye in the advaunceyng of the publicke weale as they are in feastynge in theyr hallis at the chosinge new wardyns, and tryumphyng when an heade offycer of the cytie chaunceth to be one of theyr companye, then coulde they save somwhat towards the compassynge of this matter. There is no doubt, moost dreade soverayne, that if every man were wyllyng, the matter woulde be founde lyght ynough, for nothynge is harde to them that be wyllynge.

To the syxt [i.e. fifth] objection (which is, that dyinge wasteth much wode) I answere thus: it wasteth muche wode in verye dede, but yet it wyll not destroye so much wode these hundreth yeres as the unsatiable desyre of pasture for sheep and cattell hath caused to be stocked up by the rotis within these xxx$^{ti.}$ yeres laste paste, contrarye to the lawes of this realme. Well, that answer satisfieth not; wherfore I saye that we have plentye of sea cole in many partes of this realme, so that we may in moost partis of this realme have them to serve our turne in dyinge as well as the Flemmingis have, and as good cheape, for they burne and occupye none other fuell then coles that are dygged out of the grounde, lyke as our smythes doe. Oure dying therefore should not be wastfull to oure wodis, but rather a preserveyng, by staying the Newcastell colys at home, for then shoulde oure dyars, that do nowe wast much wode in dyinge disceytful coloures, burne no wode at all, and yet shoulde they dye as true and perfect colours, and to them more benefytt.

To the seventh and laste objection I saye (as the Englysh proverbe souneth), "If the skye fall we shall take many larkis." It is a thynge [not] much to be feared that the Spaniardis will not utter suche commodities growynge in theyr contrey as they must nedis lyve by, without the utteraunce wherof they can not have

such forren commodities as they muste nedis have. And though it were to be feared, yet nede not we to feare, for when they can have none of oure cloth in Flaunders wyll they not bryng us oyles to have oure cloth at oure handis, as well as they suffer us to have it now without oure commoditie made perfect, halfe wrought and halfe unwrought? But I thynke it shulde be a great deal more for oure profite, if they did not only restrayne theyr oyles and allum, but all theyr other wares also, which are but tryfles, and thinges belongyng to lycorous lippis, meter for children then reasonable people at that pryce. Yea, I woulde wysh that the pryses of all the Spaniardis tryflyng wares were enhaunced to fyve tymes the valew that they be at, though they be in verye dede at so excessyve pryses allredy, that no wyse nation woulde bye so many of them as we doe, at so unreasonable price. But if they wer reysed to v. tymes this unreasonable price, I thynke then we shoulde learne wytte, and fynde a mart towne at home, and not abyde so great adventure in carrying oute so good commodities to bryng home tryfles, with as great daunger, not only by sea but also there by restraynt of forren prynces. And yet the pryce of those tryfles is metely well enhaunced, as I (beynge a grosser, and one that selleth spyces) am well able to declare. As fyrst pepper, wont to be solde for xx$^{d.}$ the pounde, now solde at iij$^{s.}$ the pounde. The reysons or dryed grapes of Spayne, which (in tyme that I have knowne) were boughte for vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ the hundreth, and myght be retayled for 1$^{d.}$ the pounde, to a great lyving, and are now solde to us for xxi$^{s.}$, and can not be retayled under ij$^{d.}$ ob. the pounde. The sugar that I have knowne at iiij$^{d.}$ the *li.* is nowe at xiiij$^{d.}$. The almons at xviij$^{s.}$ the hundreth within these fewe yeres, but nowe at liij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$. White sope at xviij$^{s.}$, now at xliij$^{s.}$, &c. &c. The allum somtyme at vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ the hundreth, nowe at xxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$. Oyle, wont to be solde for ix$^{li.}$ or x$^{li.}$ the tunne, nowe is solde for xxiiij$^{li.}$. Dates, somtyme at xviij$^{s.}$ the hundreth, now at xlviij$^{s.}$. Maces for v$^{s.}$ the *li.*, now at xx$^{s.}$ the pounde. Fyggis at xx$^{d.}$ the tapnet, nowe at iiij^{s}. And so of all other, as well in hole as in part, touching spycery. And as it is in spyces, so it is in sylkes, so in wynes, which do us more hurt then good, in lynnen cloth, thredde, and all other

thingis, wherof many (suche as be profitable) myght be made in the realme, if houswifrye dyd florishe amonge us. And a greate manye were better spared then bought, and yet we bye them at an excessyve pryce, by reasone that we seke them so gredely. But this objector sayth that I know not what I saye, in that I affirme oure sekyng of merchaundice to be one great cause of the enhaunced price. For the exchaunge (sayth he) is the cause, by the meanes of the basyng of oure coyne. Indede the exchaunge doeth hurte somewhat; as to saye in every hundreth xxx$^{ti.}$; but thexalting of marchaundice of foren contreys was in every hundreth cc. and ccc.; which robbyth the realme of all oure golde and sylver, and wyll doe, if remedy be not provyded, besides the plage and hurt that every man feleth in the derenesse of them. But whoso loketh well about hym shall fynde that evyn in Spayne, and in the great mart towne of Anwarp, all wares are dearer now by doble, and in most wares by trebyll pryses, then they were xj or xij yeres past. And this can not be by thexchaunge, when they receyve oure cloth for ther wares at the same pryce and valew to them that they had them in tymes past. It is the companyes and fellowshipps of marchauntis of Anwarpe, with ther great stockes and substaunce of monye, knowyng the folly of oure marchauntis and nation how to leade them, who are theare confedarated and bent agaynst the Englysh nation, intendyng to make us pay well (as we doe in dede unreasonably) for oure manyfolde bables that we bye of them, and so to force us to seke upon them to take our cloth (which they woulde sew to us for if we woulde once be wyse), and to conveygh oure fyne gold and sylver out of this realme to gyve them theyr owne askyng for theyr pynnes, theyr paynted papers, head clothes for women, with fore sleves and neckerchefes, glasses, hobbey horses, babies for oure children, and a thousande such like thingis, which all we myght well forbeare; yea and a great deale of our sylkes also, and other thinges which we have in high estimation. So that if we woulde refrayne theyr vanities, and take no more at ther handis then we have nede of, oure commodities (beyng wrought within this realme) woulde be of valew sufficient to answere all that we shoulde nede to bye of other nations, and to bring in ours, and

besydis great treasure of gold and sylver agayne, wherof they have now, and also have caused us to robbe oure selves to enryche them, to the great enpoverishyng of your majesties poore commons, and greater dishonour of the whole nation of Englysh men. Supposyng that it shalbe verye requisith and expedyent to worke all theise or anye part of the premysses in moost secret maner, that no nation may know or be of counsell in any the foresayde devysed purposes, least they knowyng therof we might be not only prevented but also moche hyndered, for they woulde wrastell sore no doubt, and seke manye meanes, and that by all extremyties, then they woulde receyve so great a foyle, and so moche to be hyndered in theyr common wealth.

Thus have I (accordyng to my bounden duetie) declared to your majestie what it hath pleased God to bryng to passe by myne adventure and diligent travell, trustyng that your majestie (tenderyng the publicke weale of this your realme, and seynge the myserable state that your subjectes are brought into by the meanes that the chiefe commodities wher upon they shoulde be set on worke are caryed beyounde the seas unwrought, and the same beyng by your majesties auctoritie stayed at home in this realme and perfectly wrought by youre majesties subjectis, this great misery shoulde be remedied and great wealth brought into this realme agayne) wyll use your auctoritie in commaundyng the Lorde mayor of the Citie of London, with his brethren the Aldermen, upon the losse of their auctoritie and office, under your gratious majestie, to see that in the Citie of London all maner of cloth be truely and perfectly dyed, after the maner of Anwarp, which is the just ende and lymyt of trewth in that behalfe. And that no cloth be suffered to be solde in the citie that is disceytfully dyed, wherof the citie floweth, nothwithstanding your gratious last Acte and the serchers appoynted for the same. And that no cloth dyed beyounde the seas be suffered to be solde within the Citie of London upon the losse of the same.

This they may doe by procuring out of Flaunders iij or iiij workemen, honest and expart in the feate of dyinge, which they may doe with small charge. For the workemen wil be gladde to serve for xx^{ti} markis a piece by the yere, or xx$^{li.}$ at the moost, and to teach our contreymen for the same monye.

This charge will not be so great in the whole as the byldynge of one corner of the hospitallis hath bene, which never the lesse they full godly have finyshed. And yet it wyll be a greater and a more certayne and durable foundation of relief for the poore, then manye such hospitallis can be, and shall be a greater dede of charitie; for if it be charitie to sucker a thousande, it is greater charitie to sucker many thousandis, even a hundreth thousandis or two, by the advauncyng of true dyinge and dressyng of cloth, true dyinge and makyng of cappis, which now are made in other contreys, beynge no defaulte in us but only for the dye.

And because the commoditie of profyt and gayne chiefly partayne to the dyars, clothworkers, and drapars (as loth as they be to have it brought to passe), it were convenient that these companyes shoulde be at all the chargis; as well of the provydyng of workemen, as for the mayntaynyng certayne honest searchears—men skylfull in the coulours of cloth—to make weekly diligent search for the true execution of the premisses. And the charge to be geven them also upon the losse of theyr lyberties and fredom for ever.

Thus offeryng my simple labours and travell in this behalfe to your majestie, I submytte myselfe to your majestie to be an instrument in all that I and my workman can doe towardes the accomplishing of this my desyred purpose, which I doe not doubt but your majestie wyll by your auctoritie brynge to pass, to the glorye of God, your majesties hartie rejoycing, and great wealth of your poore subjectis. The kyng of all kyngis, the gyveare of all thingis, worke this wyl in your heart, and graunt that you maye lyve in good health to reygne over us your majesties subjectis, and se your chyldrens' chyldren, and this your realme, in as muche wealth as ever your father's fathers have sene it.

SO BE IT.

Your majesties faythfull and obedient subject,

William Cholmeley, Londyner.

Proverbes, 20.—A Kyng that sytteth on the throne of judgement, and lokyth well about hym, dryveth away all evyll.

Anno Domini 1553.

6. GUICCIARDINI'S DESCRIPTION OF THE TRADE OF ANTWERP, 1560.

[Description de Touts les Pais-Bas autrement appellés la Germanie Inferieure ou Basse Allamagne, par Messire Louis Guicciardin, gentilhomme Florentin, Maintenant reveue et augmentée plus que de la moictie par le mesme Autheur . . . et traduit d'Italien en langue Françoise par F. De Belle Forest, Commingeois. (Anvers, 1582), pp. 128-30, 157-59, 176-95. Guicciardini was writing this description of Antwerp in 1560 (see below, p. 172). The first Italian edition of the book appeared at Antwerp in 1567 and a French translation by Guicciardini himself was published the same year. De Belle Forest's translation was made from the second Italian edition, published in 1581.]

Mais voyons en peu de parolles par quelle voye et quel moyen ceste cité [Anuers] est paruenue à vn si haut degré et preeminence : le premier de ses plus notables accroistz eut commencement (selon que ie trouue) des Foires pour la marchandise, que ses Princes luy accorderent iadis auec fort amples et autentiques Priuileges : lesquels ont depuis esté confirmez par l'autorité et graces tant des Papes que des Empereurs. Il est vray que Iean II. du nom Duc de Brabant, ayant conceu quelque haine contre ceste ville, luy osta partie de ces Franchises, qu'il octroya à la cité de Malines, l'an M.CCC. mais ils les recouurerent entierement par l'Octroy de l'Emp. Henry VII.me de Luxembourg, qui leur restitua l'an 1309. Derechef Louys Comte de Flandres, auquel ceste ville fut, pour raison de douaire, obligee et engagee par le Duc de Brabant, tollit iceux droictz de Franchise à Anuers, et les donna à Malines l'an 1358., ce qui a esté cause que ces deux villes sont venues à s'entreguerroyer pour ceste querelle, et notamment l'an 1410. Mais pour faire court, par accord faict, deux foires en fin demourerent à ceux d'Anuers, comme encores ils en iouissent, et lesquelles (comme i'ay dict) sont fort priuilegées ; et consistent ces priuileges en substance en cecy : Que durant la franchise, toute personne peut venir, et demourer en Anuers, et puis s'en retourner en sa maison, avec ses biens et marchandise en toute seureté ; sans qu'aucun luy puisse donner empeschement quelconque pour debte, ou luy demander rien que ce soyt, en tout son voyage. L'vne des

Franchises d'Anuers donnees a Malines.

Quels sont les Priuileges des foires d'Anuers.

En quel temps sont les foires d'Anuers.

foires est nommée de la Pentecoste, à cause qu'elle commence quinze iours auant la feste de Pentecoste : L'autre est dicte Foire de Sainct Remy, et encore de Saint Bauon ; d'autant qu'elle commence le second Dimenche apres Nostre dame d'Aoust, qui est asses proche des festes de l'vn et l'autre de ces Saincts ; et dure chacune foire (y compris quinze iours du prolongement ià receu et enuieilly par la coustume) l'espace de six sepmaines. Apres la franchise, s'ensuyuent les payements des changes et des deposts faictz és foires, de l'vne le dixiesme d'Aoust, et de l'autre le dixiesme de Nouembre : si (comme il est aduenu depuis les dernieres guerres) iceux payementz ne sont retardez par le Prince, soit pour sa propre commodité, ou pour celle des marchands : le payement des marchandises faut que se face vn moys apres : et les payements des deux foires qui souloyent estre faitz à Berghe, se font ores en Anuers : à sçauoir de la foire froide, et de la foire de Pasques. Les premiers se font le dixiesme de Feburier, et les autres sont mis pour le dixiesme de May : bien que ceux cy ayent fendu le vent, comme les autres cy dessus par les delays : et leur payement des marchandises ne se font mesme qu'vn mois apres. Auant que passer oultre, nous ne laisserons de dire deux motz, comme de chose digne d'estre remarquée, des foires des Cheuaulx, qui se font deux foys l'an en ceste ville : comme encor parlerons de celles des Cuirs, qui suyuent les autres tout incontinent. La foire des Cheuaulx est tenue aux Quattre temps de la Pentecoste, et dure trois iours : L'aultre vient le mercredy apres la feste de Nostre Dame de Septembre ; en ces foires on ameine vne quantité infinie de cheuaux de toutes sortes, et de touts contrées, iusques du pays de Dannemarck ; qui est pour vray vne chose fort plaisante à voir, et où il fait bon se pouruoir de monture : et c'est aux Seigneurs de la ville, apres le Prince, de se fournir les premiers, ainsi que le droict et la raison le requierent. Soudain apres ces foires viennent celles des Cuirs : et sur tout le trafic et vente des grands Cuirs, de toutes sortes de bestes, sec, gras, et salez, se fait deux ou trois iours de suite : et oultre celuy qu'on y amene du pays, on y en fait venir de plusieurs endroictz, pour vne somme tresgrande de deniers.

Combien durent les foires en Anuers.

Quand se font les payementz.

Foire des cheuaux en Anuers.

Foire des Cuirs.

La seconde cause et occasion, qui a rendue la cité d'Anuers si grande, riche, et fameuse, se monstra et commença l'an 1503. et 4., lors que les Portugais, ayans, auec vne merueilleuse et effroyable nauigation, et grands frais, et appareil de guerre, prise et occupé Calicut, et accordé auecq iceluy Roy. Ils commencerent aussi à conduire l'espicerie et droguerie des Indes en Portugal (qui est vn voyage de seize mille milles, et auquel ordinairement on employe l'espace de six mois) et puis les conduirent de Portugal en ceste ville: lesquelles denrées on souloit au parauant aller querir par la Mer rouge, et de là les conduire à Barut, et en Alexandrie, et de ces lieux les faire porter à Venise, pour en fournir l'Italie, la France, l'Alemaigne, et autres Prouinces Chrestiennes. Mais ce trafic, ayant esté pris et saisy par les Portugais, et iceux auoir enuoyé vn facteur au nom de leur Roy, se tenir pardeça, a petit à petit attiré les Alemans à ce train de marchandise; et premierement y entendirent les Fockers, les Welsers, et Osteters, et peu auant eux trestoutz Nicolas Rechtergem (duquel auons fait mention cy dessus) fut le premier, qui prit party pardeça auec le facteur du Roy de Portugal pour le fait de l'especerie, et qui en enuoya en Alemaigne. Auquel pays, comme il n'eut aucun qui sceut rien du nouueau voyage des Portugais aux Indes, en furent si estonnés qu'ils estoyent en doute de la bonté desdites espices, et soupçonnoyent que fussent faulces et sophistiqueés: Et cecy pour autant qu'ils auoyent accoustumé d'en fournir ceux de ce Pays, des drogues mesmes qui leur venoyent par terre de Venise auant. Au mesme temps y auoit quelques honorables familles d'Espagnols en ceste ville, telles que celles de Diego d'Aro, de Diego de Sanian, de Ferrand de Bernuy, et d'Antoine de Vaglio: et ainsi sur et enuiron l'an M.D.XVI touts les marchands estrangers, l'vn suiuant l'autre (sauf quelques Espaignols qui se tindrent à Bruges), vindrent pardeça auec non moins de dommage pour icelle ville, que grand proffit et commodité pour ceste d'Anuers. Et les premiers qui s'y retirerent furent les Gualterotz; apres eux ceux de Buonuisi, puis les Spinogli, touts de famille honeste et segnalee.

Seconde cause de la richesse d'Anuers.

L'Espicerie venoit iadis par la voye de Venize.

Facteur du Roy de Portugal en Anuers.

Premiers qui ont trafiqué l'espicerie en Anuers.

Trafic de Bruges est transporté en Anuers.

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Quant aux Gabelles, Daces et autres reuenuz de la ville; sauf quelques vnes de moindre importance, qu'on appelle Impostz, estant imposées extraordinairement par le Prince, apartiennent (quoy que touts les ans en l'election des Magistratz de la ville on en rend compte aux Commissaires enuoyez par la Court et Chancelerie du Prince) à la Communauté; et c'est elle qui en dispose ainsi que bon luy semble: et sont ces reuenus tels, et de si grand prouffit, qu'à present ils montent à deux cents cinquante mille escus par an; et cecy consiste principalement és daces leuez sur le vin, et sur la biere ou ceruoise, qu'ils appellent Assises, qui est vn gaing, et prouffitable et desiré: de sorte que la dace du vin reuient à present enuiron 60,000 ducatz par an: et celuy de la biere, à plus de quattrevints mille. Ces reuenuz encor consistent és impostz et assittes faites sur les bleds, qui ne sont de grand effect; et en celles qui sont sur le bestail à manger ou pied fourché, qui payent certain pris pour teste, et toutes fois cecy n'est de grand proufit: neanmoins à cause du grand nombre et quantité qu'on y conduit, de l'vne et l'autre de ces choses, on en leue vne asses bonne somme de deniers. Ce reuenu encor consiste en la vente d'aucuns petits offices, et mestiers de la ville; desquels si aucun veut vser, et les exercer, il fault qu'on obtienne congé et lettres de l'Hostel de ville; et de cecy tire lon encor bonne somme d'argent. L'hostel de ville d'Anuers tire encor de bons deniers du reuenu de plusieurs maisons, terres et autres lieux publics qu'il possede, et qu'il loue et donne à ferme: de sorte que ces choses, qui ne semblent estre guere grand cas, montent à grosse somme; et ce sont les rentes de ceste ville auec d'autres choses menues. Il est vray, que nonobstant les richesses de ceste communauté, si est elle à present en reste et beaucoup endebtée, à cause des grand frais extraordinaires qu'il luy a fallu faire, soit en la reparation des murailles, et autres diuers edifices publics, et en autres choses faites nouuellement; soit pour les subsides non accoustumez, octroyez au Prince, en tant de guerres qui luy sont suruenues; de sorte qu'elle a esté forcée quelquefois de prendre de l'argent à l'interest de dix et douze pour cent, et de rente de six et vn quart pour cent, et à vie d'vn homme, donne douze et demy pour cent chascune année. Or se donne et

Reuenu d'Anuers à qui appartient.

Valeur du reuenu d'Anuers sur le vin, et sur la biere.

Impost s le bled en Anuers.

En quoy consistent les rentes de la ville d'Anuers.

Ville d'Anuers endebtée.

prend cest argent à l'interest; et en ceste sorte, soit pour exemple; ie desire donner à rente perpetuelle ou autrement mille escus: ayant conuenu de prix auec les Tresoriers de la ville, ie desbourse les deniers, et les deliure au Receueur, qui en faict registre au liure public, et m'en donne cedulle de recepte, en vertu de laquelle je fais passer mon contract par l'vn des Secretaires d'estat de la ville: et ayant mon despeche, ie fais le seeller auec le seau public qu'ils nomment la Monarchie; et lequel seau est gardé en vn coffre qui ferme à quattre clefz diuerses, l'vne desquelles est és mains du plus ancien des Escheuins, l'autre est en la charge du plus ancien de l'ancienne Seigneurie: de la troisiesme est chargé vn des Doyens des Mariniers; et de la quatriesme vn Doyen de la Mercerie: et lequel coffre ne se doibt ouurir, et ne peut seeller chose quelconque que touts les deputez, ayans charge de ces clefz, n'y soyent presentz auec le Bourguemaistre; l'obligation porte que ie sois payé, ou celuy qui en mon nom portera à Messieurs cest instrument de ma rente: par laquelle i'oblige ainsi tout le Corps de la ville et de sa iurisdiction: de maniere que si de malheur la ville ne me payoit, il est en ma puissance de me prendre au premier citoyen d'icelle quelque part que ie peusse le rencontrer.

Façon de donner argent aux interests.

Qui tient le seau de la ville d'Anuers.

Les debtes de la ville d'Anuers obligent touts les citoyens.

Ceste cité d'Anuers ne paye ordinairement chose quelconque à son Prince: il est vray que quand il est besoing, elle le secourt et sert en ses affaires largement auec les autres Estats du pays de Brabant: Voire quelquefois s'est elle offerte de soy et sans support des autres, de luy fournir et cent et deux et iusqu'à trois centz mille Ducatz: et lors qu'elle luy accorde quelquefois (comme elle a fait assez souuent) quelques impostz et daces extraordinaires: le Prince outre l'impost et assiete que la ville en fait sur le vin et bieres venant de dehors, le prend encor sur le pied fourché et choses semblables. Le Prince dauantaige comme duc de Brabant, a les daces qui se leuent sur les denrées qui vont et viennent par mer, lesquels s'appellent la Tole de Brabant: et lequel dace est affermé ordinairement de quattre en quattre ans, et monte communement enuiron dixhuict ou vingt mille Ducats d'afferme par chascune année. Encore leue le Prince en Anuers (comme Comte de Zelande) partie d'vn pareil

Daces leuees pour le Prince en Anuers.

tribut sur les mesmes marchandises de mer : et lequel se souloit iadis payer en Zelande ; mais ores pour la commodité des marchans d'Anuers, on paye icy tous les tributs et gabelles qui se recueillent de toute sorte de marchandise entrant ou sortant par la voye de la mer : mais de celles qui vont et viennent par terre ou en paye la dace en autres portz de Zelande : et ce tribut est affermé par an de vingt à vingt deux mille ducatz. Mais hors ce petit tribut (petit le peux ie appeller en esgard au peu que se monte la charge qu'il donne au marchand qui le paye) ny le Prince ny la ville peuuent leuer aucune gabelle sur quelque marchandise qui arriue au port out qui sorte de la ville d'Anuers par terre : qui est pour vray vne belle et priuilegée immunité et exemption. Le Prince iouist encor en Anuers d'vne partie des confiscations et amendes des criminels : puis, il a du Patrimoine, tel qu'est le prouffit du lieu où lon bat la monnoye : et la Geole publique qu'il donne à ferme : et autres anciennes proprietez, comme encore il en a par tout le Pays : et sur lequel propos des rentes et reuenus patrimoniaux et leur generalité il me semble que nous en auons assez discouru.

Grande exemption en Anuers.

Quelle Patrimoine du Prince.

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Il est vray que ceux de ceste ville sont le plus communement adonnez au trafic, et font profession de marchandise ; et de fait, ils sont grands trafiqueurs, et fort riches : y ayant tel qui a vaillant deux cens mille ; d'autres iusqu'à quattre cens mille escus pour homme, et dauantage. Ce peuple est courtois, ciuil, ingenieux, soudain à sçauoir imiter l'estranger, auec lequel facilement il prend alliance : sont gentz propres pour hanter, et pratiquer par le monde : et la pluspart d'entre eux, et iusqu'aux femmes (quoy que n'ayent sorty du pays), sçauent parler de trois ou quattre langues ; sans ceux qui en parlent et cinq et six et sept : qui outre que c'est vne grande commodité, est aussi chose pleine de merueille. Ilz ont des artisans et maistres excellens en toute sorte d'artz et des mestiers. Car ils ne sçauroyent tant trauailler, que leurs ouurages ne soyent plustost venduz, que mis à fin : de sorte que, en besoignant beaucoup, l'artisan se rend parfaict en ce dequoy il se mesle. Or quels et de quel nombre sont les Mestiers qui s'exercent par effect en ceste ville, on le

Ceux d'Anuers plus marchands qu' autres.

Meurs de ceux d'Anuers.

peut exprimer par vne seule parolle, disant toutz: Car là se font toute espece de vaisseaux et nauires, et de toute capacité et portèe; diuerse draperie, des toiles de tout pris, tapisserie, des tapis de Turquie ou imitez tels, des fustaines: de toutes sortes d'armes, et munition de guerre, cuirs, taintures, paintures, couleurs, dorures, argenterie, verrieres à la Venitienne, et en grand quantité; tout gentre de mercerie et passementerie d'or, d'argent, de soye, de fil, et de laine, et d'infinis metaux, et autres choses innombrables. On y fait encor de toute espece de draps de Soye, comme Velours, Satin, Damas, Taffetas, et autres: mais ce qui plus est, que, contre la nature presque et contre la disposition de l'air du pays, il font et tissent la mesme Soye, bien qu'en petite quantité: mais celle qui leur vient de dehors (qui est d'inestimable valeur) ils la mectent en œuure en toutes façons et manieres. Ils affinent (en somme) auec grande industrie et artifice, les Metaux, la Cire, et le Succre, et autres marchandises. Et c'est icy que sur tout autre lieu on fait au vray et parfaitement le vermillon, que nos Toscans appellent Cinabro. Pour les mestiers moindres et plus vils, il y a en ceste ville vn tresgrand nombre d'Artisans: de sorte que pour demonstrer la grandeur de ceste ville, il m'a semblé bon de vous specifier le nombre des chefs et maistres des boutiques d'aucuns mestiers les plus cogneuz, et communs, et necessaires, qui ores se trouuent icy; affin que par la cognoissance de ceux cy, on puisse iuger de la multitude du reste. Il y a donc cent soixante neuf maistres Boulangers: Soixante et dix huit Bouchers: Chasse-marees, ou vendeurs de poisson marin, soixante et quinze: et de Vendeurs de poisson d'eau douce il y en a seize ou dixsept: Cent dix que Barbiers, que Chirurgiens: Tailleurs d'habitz et Chaussetiers cinq cens nonante et quatre: Il y a six vingtz quattre Orfeures; sans vn grand nombre de Lapidaires, et autres Tailleurs et Graueurs de pierrerie: lesquels font (pour Vray) des œuures admirables, et des entreprises, et achaptz incroyables de ioyaux, et tels, qu'il n'est aucun qui n'en fust estonné: Aussi ils se trouue plus de tels hommes en ceste ville qu'en plusieurs grandes Prouinces. Quant aux Paintres et Graueurs, soit en bois, cuiure, ou airain, et autres de diuerse profession de painture et sculpture, il y en a enuiron trois

Artisans d'Anuers et leur diuersité.

Grand nombre de mestiers communs en Anuers.

cens Maistres: des Merciers et Contreporteurs le nombre en est infiny.

Toutz ces artz et manufactures sont de grand prouffit pour l'entretien commun: entant que par ce moyen la ieunesse est empescheé de se gaster par plaisirs et oisiueté: et que les espritz d'icelle sont subtiliez et esueillez, et deuiennent amoureux de leur propre Patrie. Aussi en a lon veu de meruueilleux exemples de pieté en ceste ville: et mesmement y aduenant quelque mesauenture, et desordre: d'autant que pas vn des hommes de bon esprit et vertueux n'a failly à se trauailler pour le salut et conseruation de sa Patrie. Et de faict, vn gouuernement bien appuyé est tout ainsi que le corps humain assailly de fascheries et de maladies, et que neantmoins se soustient et supporte de soy mesme, et de son sang et propre vigueur. Aussi vne cité ayant ses membres et citoyens adonnez dés leur enfance au trauail et au prouffit, se gouuernant, et maintenant et en paix et en guerre auec et par ses forces, et sa substance: entant que l'amour et affection que chascun porte à son pays, est celle qui est cause de son trauail, soing et diligence; et le cœur et desir qu'il a de conseruer ce qu'il a acquis en trauaillant, le faict ialoux du public: de sorte qu'il veille incessamment pour la conseruation d'iceluy; cognoisant que le bien, salut, et soustien des particuliers, gist et consiste en l'asseurance et force du public: et les deux si bien iointz ensemble, que l'vn ne peut estre debout, sans que l'autre ne soit en son entier. Pour ce ceuxcy estantz tous ententifz au gaing, ils employent des deniers non seulement en marchandise et au trafic, ains encor à bastir, à achepter terres et possessions, et en toute sorte agrandir leur estat, et richesses: ce qui fait que de iour à autre la ville va en accroissant, et florist et s'agrandist à merueilles. Au reste, quoy que vne bonne partie des moindres, et autres aucuns plus seueres, viuent, suyuant l'ancienne coustume de se nourrir et traicter escharsement: si est ce qu'on y vit à present tressomptueusement, et (peut estre) plus que la raison ne le requiert: et hommes et femmes, de tout aage, y vont tresbien vestus, chacun selon ses forces et qualité, vsans tousiours de nouuelles et gentilles façons, mais beaucoup plus richement, vainement, et superfluement que la ciuilité et l'honnesteté ne le peuuent ou

Belle et fort propre similitude.

En Anuers on vit trop somptueusement.

Superfluitez d'habits en Anuers.

doibuent souffrir. On y voit à toute heure des nopces, festins, danses, et passetems : on oyt par tous les coings des rues que sons d'instrumentz, chansons et bruit d'esiouyssance : en somme, il n'y a chose en laquelle n' aparoisse la richesse, la puissance, pompe, et magnificence de ceste excellente et illustre Cité.

Discours sur les marchands d'Anuers et sur leur trafic et commerce.

Puisque nous auons parlé et discouru et du gouuernement de la ville, et des mœurs et façons de vie des habitans en icelle : c'est raison que nous arrestons vn peu sur le trafic, affaires et maniere de faire qui sont entre les marchands estrangers, trafiquantz en ceste ville : veu mesmement que son principal fondement consiste en la marchandise, et qu'icelle est illustrée, et agrandie, et enrichie par les estrangers. En premier lieu donc ie dis, qu'en Anuers, oultre les gentz du pays, qui en tres grande multitude y affluent et habitent, et oultre les marchans François, desquels en temps de paix y en vient grande affluence : il y a six nations principales, lesquelles et en guerre, et en paix, y resident, et lesquelles sont le nombre de plus de mille marchands, y compris leurs principaux facteurs, et ministres. Et ceux cy sont les Allemans, les Danoys et Osterlins ensemble, Les Italiens, Espaignols, Angloys, et Portugais : mais il y a (peut estre) plus d'Espaignols que d'autre nation, comme aussi sans mentir, il y en a plusieurs d'entre eux, qui s'y sont mariez et domiciliez. Toutz ces marchands obseruent les loix et ordonnances de la ville : et quant au reste, chascun vit, se vest, et se maintient librement à sa fantasie : et à dire vray, les estrangers viuent en plus grande liberté icy en Anuers, et par tous ces Pays bas, qu'on ne faict en quelque autre pays que ce soit de tout le monde. De sorte que c'est vn cas merueilleux, de voir vn tel meslange d'hommes, de si diuerses humeurs, et qualitez : et plus encor d'ouir vne telle varietè de langages, et si differents l'vn de l'autre : tellement que, sans loing voyager, en vne seule ville, vous pouuez voir, et s'il vous plaist imiter, le naturel, façons de vie, et coustumes de plusieurs nations loingtaines ; et par ce moyen auient il, que pour le grand nombre d'estrangers qui abordent icy, on sçait tousiours en Anuers des nouuelles de tout ce qui passe par le reste des prouinces de l'Vniuers. Les plus

Grandeur d'Anuers consiste en marchandise.

Quels marchands trafiquent en Anuers.

Fouquers maison riche d'Ausbourg.

riches et renommez d'entre touts ces marchands sont les Fouquers, Alemants d'Ausbourg: le chef de la famile desquels, a sçauoir le Seigneur Antoyne (prince sans doubte de touts les marchands de ce siecle) mourant n'aguere en son pays, laissa par testament à ses hoirs plus de six millions d'escus d'or vaillant: oultre tant d'autres grandes richesses qui abondent en celle illustre famille, et icelles conquises durant l'espace de soixante et dix ans au trafic, commerce, et exercice de marchandise. De maniere que ces Fouquers sont montez et paruenus à de hautz degrez, et dignitez d'estatz, et Seigneuries, non seulement en Allemaigne, ains encor en plusieurs contrées et prouinces d'Europe, voire et iusqu 'au nouueau monde. Mais auant que passer oultre, ne faut laisser de dire ce mot, que ny les Roys d'Espaigne, ny de Portugal, ny la Royne d'Angleterre, desdaignent de tenir facteurs en ceste compaignie de marchands, que sont hommes qualifiez: et lesquels facteurs pour les affaires de leur Maiestez negotient et traficquent tout ainsi que le reste des marchands. En premieur lieu le Roy Catholique y en tient deux, chacun ayant charge et maison à part, et pour soy particulière, et des agentz et ministres pour les y seruir. L'vn desquels est à present le Seigneur Gaspar Schetz mentionné cy dessus: et l'autre est le Seig. Iean Lopez Gal, Baron de Male, Gentilhomme et riche, et de bonne reputation. Ceux cy ont amples pouuoirs, et procurations du Roy, lesquelles contiennent en substance, qu'ils peuuent prendre en depost, change, ou autre maniere telle que leur plaira, et telle somme de deniers, à prest, qu'il leur semblera bon, pour quelque temps, et obliger le Roy et en general et en particulier, sur certains lieux, obligez au crediteur en quelques prouinces sujettes à ceste sienne Maiesté; tellement qu'il n'y a pas longtemps que les facteurs d'icelle tiroyent de la Bourse vne infinie somme de deniers, qu'en temps et lieu ils rendoyent suffisamment. Le Roy de Portugal n'a icy qu'vn facteur seulement, mais iceluy homme d'honneur, et de grand respect, tel qu'est à present François Pesoa, gentilhomme de qualité; lequel a aussi procuration trescertaine de son maistre, pour pouuoir prendre telle somme et quantité qu'il voudra et de deniers et de marchandise, obligeant la couronne de Portugal: et par ce moyen n'aguere ce Roy tiroit d'icy tout ce que bon luy

sembloit; et le temps passé, que ce Prince (peut estre) estoit plus endebté, et auoit plus d'affaires, que maintenant, ses facteurs (telle foys a esté) ont emprunté à ceste Bourse en vne foire plus de troys millions d'escus, qu'ils ont tousiours rendu au terme prefix sans y faillir en sorte quelconque. Mais comme depuis quelque temps en ça ces Roys se soyent trouuez en arriere et fort chargez de debtes; le Portugais, à cause des guerres et entreprises des Indes: et l'Espaignol pour auoir eu affaire contre les Françoys, et les Turcs; outre ce estans par trop chargez des vsures excessiues de ces insatiables gouffres d'auarice, qui les ont mal traitez: il semble aussi qu'ils se resoluent de payer auec vn peu de commodité que le temps leur pourra offrir: et ainsi leurs facteurs maintenant se tiennent sans rien faire en la place, en ce qui concerne le faict des negoces de leurs maistres, desquels ce pendant ils attendent d'heure à autre la resolution entiere. Quant à la Royne d'Angleterre, puis quelques années en ça elle tient icy pour facteur M. Thomas Grassan, Cheualier d'honneur, lequel encor auec sa procuration suffisante a leué de ceste Bourse, pour icelle Royne, de tresgrosses sommes d'argent, ausquelles elle satisfait, et les paye parfaictement. Venans desormais a discourir du grand maniement et trafic de marchandise, qui se faict ordinairement, et tous les iours en Anuers: ie dis que tous ces marchands, soyent estrangers, ou du pays, sont vn commerce, trafic, et incroyable, et merueilleux, tant en eschange qu'en depost de marchandise: et pour ce nous deuiserons briefuement du moyen qu'ils y obseruent, qui est tel que s'ensuyt: Et soir et matin ils vont à heure certaine à la Bourse des Angloys: et là l'espace de plus d'vne heure à la foys, par le moyen des truchements de chascune langue (desquels y en a grand nombre:) ils traictent sur l'achapt et vente de toute sorte et espece de marchandise; et apres vn peu plus tard, ils vont à la nouuelle Bourse, qui est la place principale; et là l'espace d'vne heure, et par les mesmes interpretes des langues, ils parlent et traictent particulierement des deposts et des changes.

Comme se fait le trafic en Anuers.

Pour quel pays y a il change en Anuers.

Or y a il change pour plusieurs endroits d'Italie, comme pour Rome, Venize, Milan, Florence, et Genes: pour l'Alemaigne comme pour Ausbourg, Noremberg, et Francfort: pour plusieurs lieux d'Espaigne, à sçauoir par la voye des quattre foires; deux

de Medine del Campo, vne de Villalon, et vne de Medina de Riosecco: encore y en a il pour Burgos, Calys, Seuille et Lisbonne. On change aussi en diuers endroictz de France, comme és quattre foires de Lyon, pour Paris, et pour Rouen : et en outre pour Londres et Besançon. Et consiste ce change en substance de donner ou receuoir icy en Anuers, tel nombre de gros de la monnoye de ce Pays, qui font vn Escu, vn Ducat, ou vn Angelot, pour rauoir ou rendre par les villes ou d'Italie ou d'autre Prouinces quasi la valeur mesme : et pour autant donnant ou prenant pour recouurer ou pour payer, cela s'appelle proprement Change. Et fut ceste façon de faire inuentée principalement pour la commodité du trafic : mais la malice de plusieurs marchandz, et sur tout des plus riches, ne s'est contentée de cest aise et belle commodité ; ains poussez d'vn glout et insatiable desir de gaing extraordinaire, a alteré aussi et corrompu ceste honneste façon et ancienne maniere de change. Car faisants grand amas de deniers, ou en donnant a l'interest, ou en empruntant, sans en auoir besoing aucun, font de sorte et violemment et finement restraindre ou abonder l'argent à leur proffit particulier et au dommage et preiudice vniuersel : et toutesfoys cest vsage de change ordinairement est non seulement tolerable, mais commode et de grand prouffit, et ne peut (suyuant que disent les Theologiens), estant pratiqué deuëment, porter nom de gaing iniuste : d'autant que le plus souuent on y gaigne peu et encor auec grand hazard, et peril : et telle foys on y perd du fondz, et principal de la chose.

Que signifie change en cest endroit.

Pourquoy inuenté le change.

Corruption des changes.

Mais disons en vn mot ce que les marchands appellent icy Depost. Ils nomment à present (pour couurir l'infameté de la chose auec vn tiltre specieux) Depost, quand on donne vne somme de deniers à quelcun pour certain temps moyennant pris et interest limité et determiné, asçauoir (suyuant l'ordonnance et permission de l'Emp. Charles V^e confirmée par son fils le Roy Philippe) à raison de douze pour cent par an. Lequel interest fut permis par ces Princes aux marchands, durant la difficulté et danger des temps perilleux, pour obuier à plusgrandes incommoditez et malheurs : mais le temps et l'experience (outre les anciens exemples) font voir que ce lourd interest estant encore corrompu, alteré et augmenté, par la malice et tyrannie des

Interest permis par l'Emper. Charles cinquiesme.

hommes en plusieurs sortes et manieres, est aussi chose griefue, et de grand preiudice aux pauures gentz, et vn grand abaissement pour le commerce et trafic de marchandise: et certes ceste maniere de contracter redonderoit au bien public si les presteurs se contentoyent de prix et gaing honneste, comme de six, ou six et vn quart pour cent, suyuant la permission d'iceux Emp. et Roy, donnée aux Gentilshommes, et autres qui viuoyent de rente, ou que encor on leur accordast quelque chose d'auantage iusques à huict pour cent. Mais ne se contentans de ce gaing, ils outrepassent le plus souuent toute limite de raison et honnesteté, et font que ces depostz sont autant d'incommoditez et de violences. Iadis les gentilshommes pecunieux souloyent employer leurs deniers en terres et possessions, à faire bien cultiuer, ou en bestail, ou choses semblables: esquelles plusieurs estoyent embesoignez, et nourris, et qui enrichissoyent la contrée. Les marchands encor, qui abondoyent en pecunes, enuoyoyent et faisoyent venir marchandise abondamment de touts costez, et en fournissoyent ça et là, où ils voyoyent que le besoing le requeroit: et en ce grand et abondant trafic, on faisoit trauailler et gaigner plusieurs pouures de toute qualité: si bien que le pays s'emplissant de tout bien, et les villes fournies suffisamment de toute sorte de marchandise, voyoyent leur reuenu augmenté, comme aussi estoit celuy des Princes. A present partie de la noblesse, ayant deniers comptans, allichez et corrompuz de l'esperance d'vn si grand et certain proffit, que celuy qui court en ce temps par le moyen de ces depostz excessifz et vsuraires, donnent leur argent à l'interest, secretement (car cela leur est defendu par les loix de la Noblesse), ou le font donner par autre pour eux à vsure: Voire et plusieurs marchands, poussez de mesme occasion, et pour euiter trauail, et les fascheries, et les hazards, donnent leur argent à interest trop ferme et violent, ou le liurent au plus haut que peuuent, par lettres de change. Et de là aduient du costé de la Noblesse, que plusieurs terres sont demourées en friche, ou sans estre deuëment cultiuées, n'y ayant nombre suffisant de bestail: ce qui cause cherté de viures et quelque foys malheur au public. Et pour l'esgard du marchand, le pays n'est plus fourny suffisamment de denrées et marchandise: ce que (outre d'autres maux) faict que encor celle, qui est au pays, est plus cherement

Malheurs causez par les depostz et interestz.

vendue, et le plus souuent, à prix excessif et hors des limites de raison, tout ce que dessus redondant au tresgrand dommage du corps de la Republique, et sur tout des pauures, lesquelz en plusieurs manieres sont mangez et rançonnez par les riches. De cecy on pourroit alleguer des exemples assez clers et euidentz, mais pource qu'on en voit souuent les effectz, et auec plusieurs faultes et desordres, pour ne fascher aucun, nous n'en parlerons point d'auantage. Ainsi reuenans à propos du commerce, ayans declairé en quelle sorte les marchands gaignent indeuëment, et nuisent au public: il fault aussi dire comme infiniz d'entre eux trafiquent iustement, gaignent sans iniquité, et portent proffit au monde, et cecy seulement par le moyen du trafic de marchandise, qu'ils acheptent en abondance, debitent et vendent loyaument, et font venir de touts endroitz, et l'enuoyent par diuers lieux et contrées. Desquelles marchandises les plus dignes et d'importance, qui d'Europe et aultres parties du monde vont et viennent tous les iours, par mer et par terre en ce pays, la chose estant de grand effect, et maniée principalement par les marchands residentz en Anuers et conduitz en ceste mesme ville, il fault aussi en faire quelque mention: veu mesme que de la cognoissance d'vne telle varieté, et abondance de toute chose, on n'en peut recueillir pour le liseur, sinon plaisir, accompaigné de quelque proffit. En premier lieu nous disons qu'il irent icy par terre vne infinie quantité de marchandise d'Italie, laquelle est de valeur inestimable: et d'icy on en enuoye par delà d'autres sortes, qui sont de tresgrand prix: Mais venons a particulariser les choses, suyuantz non la Geographie, et description des lieux, ains la preference des peuples, et de l'estat Ecclesiastique.

De quoy ceux d'Anuers sont accommodez des Italiens

Il ne s'apporte de Rome icy marchandise aucune de prix, mais d'icy on enuoye à Rome, comme draperie de plusieurs sortes, tapisserie, sarges, ostades,[1] demy ostades, et toiles, et plusieurs autres biens et denrées.

D'Anconne on enuoye par deça des camelotz à ondes, et sans ondes, de plusieurs sortes; de l'espicerie, des dogueries, soyes, coton, feutres, tapis, maroquins, et couleur Indienne, qui sont toutes denrées qu'ils recouurent de Leuant. En lieu desquelles ceux d'Anuers leur fournissent grande quantité de draps

[1] i.e. worsteds.

d'Angleterre, et de ce païs mesme, et sur tout des draps des quatre couleurs d'Armentieres : des sarges en assez bon nombre, des ostades, des toiles, et quelques tapisseries, et des couleurs de Cramoisi appellé Cuchenille, qui vient d'Espaigne, duquel on leur fournit pour vne grande somme d'argent.

De Bouloigne on nous mande icy force draps de soye, et des draps d'or et d'argent, des bonnetz, des crespes et choses semblables : et d'icy on leur fournit des sarges de toutes sortes, des demy ostades, tapisseries, toiles, mercerie, et quelque peu de draperie.

Les Venitiens departent en ces quartiers de l'espicerie, comme cloux de Girogle, Cannelles, Noix muscades, Gingembre, et assez de drogues telles que sont Rheubarbe, Aloe, Casse, Agaric, sang de dragon, Momie, Sené en feuille, Coloquintes, Scamonée, Tutie, Mithridat, et Teriacle ; lesquelles choses ils tirent toutes de Leuant. Auant que le Roy de Portugal eust osté le trafic de Leuant aux Venitiens, ils souloyent conduire par mer toute l'espicerie et droguerie, qui venoit par deça : de faict ie trouue que dés l'an 1318 arriuerent en ce port d'Anuers cinq galeasses Venitiennes chargées d'espices, et drogues, lesquelles y venoyent à la foyre. De Venize encore on portoit icy de tresbeaux et tres-riches draps de soye : des soyes cuittes, et cruës, des Camelots, des grograins, et sans ondes ; des tapis, des Samis, merueilleusement bien faicts ; des excellentes Escarlates, des Cottons, Comins de l'Ebene, et autres merceries tant de soye qu' autrement ; et dauantage portoit on de l'Asur et autres couleurs propres à la teinture et à paindre. D'icy auant on enuoye à Venize des ioyaux et perles, draps et laines d'Angleterre en assez bon nombre, quoy que par le moyen de la mer ils s'en puissent pourueoir d'euxmesme. On y enuoye dauantage des draps de la façon de ces pays, de plusieurs sortes ; comme encor des sarges de Honscot, de Lille, d'Arras, de Valenciennes, de Montz, et autres lieux : des ostades et demy ostades, toiles et tapisseries de couleur Cramoisi pour vn grand prix et somme ; et diuerses especes de mercerie, et mesnage de maison. Voire y enuoye l'on souuent du succre, et quelquefoys du poiure.

Du Royaume de Naples on enuoye icy quelques draps de soye, et des soyes filées et à filer : et outre ce quelques gentiles peleteries, et du saffran de l'Aquila, et de la manne excellente : Et

d'icy nous leur donnons en recompense assez des draps de ce Pays, et de ceux d'Angleterre: toiles infinies, sarges, ostades, demy ostades, tapisserie, et plusieurs merceries tant de metaux, que d'autres choses.

Du Royaume et Isle de Sicile on nous apporte icy, et par mer, et par terre, grand quantité de noix de gale, du comin, oranges, coton, et des soyes: quelquefois encor porte l'on des vins de plusieurs sortes, comme Maluoisie et aultres semblables. Et de par de là nous enuoyons grande quantité de draps, et de toiles, sarges, tapisseries et innumerables merceries de metal et de diuerses autres sortes.

De Milan et pays sujet on fait venir icy de l'or et argent filé pour beaucoup de deniers: des draps de soye et d'or de diuerses sortes, fustaines, et basins de grande et diuersifiée bonté, des escarlates, estametz, et autre fine et subtile draperie: du Ris tresbon et en grand nombre: des excellentes armeures de toute sorte et calibre, et de plusieurs sortes de mercerie, et icelle de haut pris, iusqu' au fourmage Parmesan, qui est marchandise d'importance. Par de là on enuoye du poiure, et succre: des ioyaux, musc, et autres odeurs: quantité de draps d'Angleterre et de ceux de ce pays; abondance de sarges de toute espece; demy ostades, toiles infinies, tapisseries, la couleur Cramoisie, et encor auec cela des laines d'Angleterre, et d'Espaigne.

Florence nous fait largesse de ses draps d'or et d'argent, frizez et non frizez, brocatz, et autres draps de soye beaux et riches: or et argent filé: des draps appellez Rasses, qui sont bons et de longue duree: des soyes nommees capitons doubles et filoselles, des peaux fines, des martres et faines, et autres gentilesses de fins ouurages. Et nous leur enuoyons des sarges de plusieurs sortes, demy ostades, toiles, et lins, des esuentoirs; des frises, et laines d'Angleterre, bien que pas la voye de la mer ils en soyent mieux pourueuz sur le lieu mesme.

De Genes l'on nous depart icy vne grande quantité de velours de touts pris, qui sont les meilleurs et mieux faitz qu'on puisse voir, et qui se facent: ilz nous enuoyent de tresbons et fins satins ermoisins, et autres sortes d'estoffes de soye. De là aussi nous vient le Corail plus excellent, et le meilleur Mitridat, et plus vraye Teriacle qui soit pardeça. Nous fournissons les Geneuois

de draps, tant de ce pays, que d'Angleterre; sarges, demy ostades, toile, tapisserie, mercerie, vtensilles, mesnage, et meubles de maison.

On conduit aussi pardeça de Mantoue des draps de soye; et la mesme soye sans façon, et en laine: des bonnetz pour vne grande somme d'argent, et plusieurs autres denrées: et nous leur departons des choses du Pays, qu'auons cy dessus alleguées.

On voit aussi porter d'autres villes d'Italie, comme de Verone, Bresse, Vicence, Modene, et autres, des denrées cy dessus nommées, et d'autres, que ie laisse pour n'estre point trop long.

De Lucques quelque fois on nous apporte des draps d'or et d'argent: mais d'ordinaire, ils nous fournissent de draps de soye, et en quantité et de diuerses façons, bien que les estoffes soyent legeres et mal fournies. Et de nous ils ont et reçoiuent des marchandises de ceste contree.

D'auantage on ameine d'Italie en ce pays, par mer, les aluns de Ciuita vecha: les huiles de la Pouille, de Gennes, et de Pise: des gales, et gommes diuerses, cotons, comins, sené en fueille, des flames (que les Florentins nomment Diaggiuolo), du soulphre, de l'or, piment et autre grosserie. Et par la mesme voye de la mer nous leur enuoyons de l'estain, du plomb, de la garance, du bresil, cire, cuirs, lins, suif, poissons salez, et du bois beau et propre à mectre en ouurage, et d'autre: et quelquefois des bleds, du fourment, du seigle, des febues, et legumage.

Nous sommes fournis par terre de l'Alemaigne d'argent solide, et en lingotz: d'argent vif, du cuiure crud et affiné en quantité presque incroyable: laines de Hesse qui sont tresbonnes et tresfines: du verre, des fustaines montans à vn grand pris: des pastels, garances, safran et autres choses propres à taindre; du sal-nitre, force mercerie et meubles de mesnage beaux, et merueilleusement bien faitz: de toute espece de metaux, et qui montent à la valeur d'vn thresor inestimable; des armes pour offencer et se deffendre, et de toutes sortes, et pour vne somme infinie de deniers. Viennent aussi d'Alemaigne en ces quartiers des vins du Rhin, blancs de couleur, de grande importance pour le trafic, excellens au goust, prouffitables à la santé, et propres pour la digestion: et de tel naturel qu'on en peut boire deux fois plus que de tout autre vin, auant qu'ils nuisent, ny à la teste ny

à l'estomach. En reciproque, nous leur enuoyons de la pierrerie et perles, grande quantité d'espicerie et droguerie, safran, et succre, des draps d'Angleterre, comme chose rare, et de hault pris, et bon nombre de ceux de ce pays: d'auantage des sarges, des ostades, et demy ostades, tapisserie, toiles infinies, et mercerie de toute force.

Par mer on nous ameine icy de Dannemarch, d'Osterlant, de Liuonie, Norwege, Suece, Poloigne, et autres pays, regions, et Prouinces Septentrionales, des biens et richesses inestimables. En premier lieu les grains, bled et seigle pour vn thresor de grande valeur; assez de cuiure et airain, du sal-petre, du guede, du vitriol, garance, laines excellentes d'Austriche, lins, miel, poix, cire, qui montent à hault pris; soulphre, cendres, qui sont marchandises de tresgrande importance: fines peaux, et tresbelles de toutes sortes, comme de martres soublines, de hermines, loups ceruiers, leopards, faines, de renards blanc fort beaux, de renards communs et ordinaires, des loups blancs, et des ordinaires, et iusques aux peaux de plusieurs especes de poissons: des cuirs de toutes bestes en tresgrande quantité, specialement de buffles, voire des peaux des ours pour s'en seruir en guerre: du bois fort beau, et bon pour tout ouurage, et mesmement pour faire nauires et vaisseaux: y en ayant d'vne espece, qu'ils nomment Waghescot, qui est beau, et tout aussi madré que le noyer mis en besoigne; duquel Wagescot on vse pardeça en mille choses, tant pour ce qu'il est merueilleux en bonté, de longue duree, qui iamais ne se fend, ny deuient vermoulu, que par extreme vieillesse; et duquel on enuoye iusques en Italie. On nous conduict encor icy de ces pays là grande quantité de biere et ceruoise de grand pris et estime; des chairs salées, du poisson salé et seché à la fumee, au soleil, et au vent, voire et par la mesme glace et froidure. Nous apportent encor de l'ambre iaune, pour grande somme d'argent, qu'on appelle mal à propos icy Ambre de Danzick, à cause que là on le met en œuure: et toutesfois est il conduit de bien loing, et de plus de cent milles d'Italie. . . .

Waghescot arore.

Des susdittes Prouinces Septentrionnales on nous apporte icy tant de sortes de denrées en gros, que si nous voulions en faire le denombrement entier, peut estre aurions nous faute, et du

temps et loisir, et des noms des choses qu'elles nous eslargissent. Vers ces quartiers là nous faisons conduire de tresgrande quantité d'espicerie, droguerie, de saffran, succre, sel, draps d'Angleterre, et de ce pays de sarges, ostades, demy ostades, fustaines et toiles, de la pierrerie, draps de soye, et d'or, des camelotz à gros grain et de toute sorte: quelque tapisserie; assez de vins et principalement de ceux d'Espaigne, de l'alum, du bresil, de la mercerie, et des meubles de mesnage en abondance.

Dequoy la France fournit Anuers.

De France il nous vient icy par mer force sel de Brouage: assez de pastel de Tholouse qui est tresbon: des Caneuaz et autres toiles grosses de Bretaigne et Normandie pour vn prix et valeur inestimable: des vins blancs et clairetz de diuerses contrées et iceux fort bons, sains, delicatz, et nourrissans: des huiles, saffran et grane de Prouence, melassy, termentine, poix, papier à escrire de plusieurs sortes, et d'endroitz diuers, pour vne grande somme d'argent: des voirres, des pruneaux, qui est vn trafic d'importance: et abondance de Bresil que les Françoys, auec grand hazard de leurs vies, vont querir iusques en l'Amerique: lequel pays est sirnommé du Bresil, à cause de ceste arbre: et lequel pays (comme ailleurs nous disons) apartient au Portugais, quoy que les mesmes Françoys y ayent dressé leur nid et retraite, y bastissans vne belle forteresse. On apporte encor de France par terre plusieurs dorures bien et artificieusement elabourées: quelques draps tres-fins de Paris, et de Rouen: des Cramoisis de Tours, Bouratz de Champaigne: force filet de Lyon, et du chanure, qui sont denreés fort prisées: du verdegris de Montpellier, qui est tresbon; et outre ce plusieurs sortes de mercerie de grande valeur et amenée de diuers endroitz et contrées d'iceluy Royaume. Auquel nous distribuons des pierres precieuses, et des perles, de l'argent massif, et en lingots: argent vif, cuiure, du bronze, du letton et en œuure et sans œuure; du plomb, de l'estaing, du vermillon, de l'azur, de la couleur Cramoisie, du soulphre, sal-petre, et vitriol, camelotz, gros grains et de Turquie: draps d'Angleterre de plusieurs sortes, et mesmement des carisez, frises et sayetons; voire et des draps de ce pays en grande quantité frisez, et à friser; toiles fines de grande valeur, sarges de toutes façons; assez d'ostades et demy ostades, tapisseries,

Fort iadis basty par les François en l'Amerique.

Ce qu'on envoye d'Anuers en France.

laine d'Austriche, cuirs, pelleterie, cire, garance, hoblon, suifz, chairs seiches, et force poisson salé.

D'Angleterre on conduyt icy grande quantité de draperie, comme carisez, et autres sortes tant de fins draps que grossiers, des franges et autres choses de grande valeur : des tresfines laines ; tresbon saffran, bien qu'en petite quantité ; de l'estaing, et du plomb pour beaucoup d'argent ; peaux de moutons, et de connils sans nombre, et autres sortes diuerses de belle pelleterie et quelques cuirs : des bieres assez, des fourmages, et autres viures en gros ; voire iusqu' à la Maluoisie que touts les ans on conduit de Candie en celle Isle Angloise. Vers laquelle ceux d'Anuers enuoyent plusieurs ioyaux, et pierreries, de l'argent non ouuré, argent vif, draps d'or, d'argent et de soye ; or et argent filé, camelotz, grosgrains, et de Turquie ; espicerie, droguerie, succres, coton, comin, noix de galle, des toiles fines et grosses : sarges, demy ostades, tapisserie, garance, hoblons en grande quantité : assez de voirre, poisson salé, toute sorte de mercerie de metal, et autre matiere estant de grande valeur : armes de toutes façons, et munitions de guerre, et iusqu'aux meubles et mesnage des maisons.

D'Escosse on nous fournit de grand nombre de peaux de mouton et de connil, et autres sortes de fine pelleterie de diuerses petites bestes, et sur tout les plus belles martres, que (peut estre) on sçauroit trouuer ailleurs. Nous amenent encor force cuirs, quelques laines et drap, mais mal faitz : des perles belles et grosses, mais non si cleres, blanches, ny de tel prix et valeur pour beaucoup, que sont les Orientales. Nous n'y enuoyons guere grande chose, tant pour ce que les Escossois sont pauure, que pource qu'ils se fournissent en France et en Angleterre : toutesfois leur enuoyons nous quelques espicerie, des succres, de la garance, quelques draps de soye, des Camelotz de toute sorte ; des sarges de plusieurs façons ; des toiles et mercerie.

On nous enuoye d'Hirlande des cuirs cruds et secs en grande quantité, et de plusieurs genres de bestes, comme de bœufz, vaches, et moutons, de fine pelleterie : quelques draps de peu de valeur, et autres choses grossieres et de non guere grand effect. Et nous leur distribuons des mesmes denrées qu'a l'Escosse ; à cause qu'ils se fournissent en Angleterre.

L'Espaigne nous eslargist innombrables especes de marchandise, des pierreries, et perles de diuerses estofes, et qualitez, et prix, que les Espaignols apportent de leurs Indes Occidentales, du Peru, appellé l'Amerique et Nouueau monde: lesquelles perles et pierreries, venantz de là, sont grandes, et belles: mais non de telle perfection que les Orientales. Il nous font part aussi de grande quantité d'or et d'argent pur, massif et mis en lingotz, que pour la pluspart ils tirent de ce Nouueau monde, et heureuse terre nouuellement descouuerte; comme aussi la couleur cramoisie qu'ils nomment Cucchenile: portent aussi de ce pays loingtain la racine appellée Salseparille tant requise par les medecins: comme encor, le Boys sainct ou Gaiac. . . . On nous enuoye aussi d'Espaigne assez de saffran, quelque droguerie, de l'escarlate, force soyes crues, et non filées, des draps de soye de toutes façons; sur tout des veloux de Tolede, et des tafetas, du sel, de l'alun de Mazzeron, de l'orcille de Canarie; laquelle herbe à taindre est nommée Raspe par les Florentins: des laines tresfines, du fer, du cordouan; plusieurs sortes de vins blancs comme Bastardz, et de Romaine, et autres especes qui sont bons, friands, sains, et delicatz; des huiles doulces et grasses pour la drapperie; vinaigres, miel, melassi, gommes d'Arabie, sauons; et si grande quantité de toute sorte de fruitz, et frais, et secs, comme Orenges, limons, citrons, grenades, oliues, melons, cappres, dattes, figues, raisins, amandes, qu'on en fait par tout grand traffic et marchandise. Les Espaignols nous fournissent encor vins et succres de Canaries, qui sont ces Isles que les anciens ont appellees Fortunées, ou heureuses; du midy desquelles Ptolomée et autres Cosmographes prennent la longitude de la terre, et lesquelles Isles sont ores des apartenances de la Couronne d'Espaigne. Vers lequel pays ceux d'Anuers enuoyent de l'argent vif; bien que le temps passé, il nous en vint d'Espaigne grande quantité pardeça: cequi procede pour autant que quelque mine et veine d'icelle, s'estans desechées, ont defailly: ioint qu'ils en ont plus mis en besoigne qu'ils ne souloyent. Nous leur enuoyons du cuyure, du bronze et du letton, et cruds et en œuure; de l'estaing, du plomb, draps de plusieurs sortes, et en abondance, de ceux qui se font en ce Pays, et principalement en Flandres, et quelques vns d'Angleterre: des sarges de tout prix, et de toutes

Ce que l'Espaignol apporte en Anuers.

Orcille herbe à taindre.

Canaries sont les Isles fortunées.

De quoy Anuers fournit l'Espaigne.

sortes; ostades, demy ostades, tapisseries, fines toiles, et grossieres, pour beaucoup de deniers: de toute espece de camelotz, du lin, du fil, cire, poix, garance, suif, soulphre, et souuent du bled et du seigle, chair et poisson salé, et iusqu'au beurre et au fourmage: puis toute espece de mercerie de metal, de soye, de filoselle, et autres, pour vne somme merueilleuse; d'argent assez bonne quantité; d'argenterie mise en œuure: des armes offensiues et deffensiues: toute sorte de munitions de guerre, et des meubles pour le mesnage, comptant des choses moindres iusques aux plus grandes qui sont necessaires à tel faict. En somme, on peut dire que la plus grande partie d'Espaigne prend en ces pays toutes choses qui sont de manufacture ordinaire, et qui consistent en l'industrie et trauail de l'homme; de quoy les Espaignols de basse condition sont ennemys mortels, au moins en leur pays mesme.

Trafic des Portugais en Anuers quel.

De Portugal nous viennent icy la pierrerie et perles Orientales parfaictes, or pur, massif et batu, espicerie, drogues, ambre, musc, ciuette, yuoire (c'est à dire dent d'Elephant) en grande quantité: rheubarbe, aloé, de l'azur que les Portugais nomment Anil, coton, racines de la China, et autres choses precieuses abondamment; desqueles la pluspart de l'Europe est fournie en ce quartier; et lesquelles les Portugais en premier lieu portent des Indes Orientales, de Calecut à Lisbonne; et puis ordinairement viennent pardeça. On y ameine aussi des succres de l'Isle de Saint Thomas, assise droitement sous la ligne Equinoctiale: laquelle isle, auec autres en bon nombre, qui font le succre et autres choses excellentes, sont de la conqueste des Rois et Couronne de Portugal. Encor nous est conduit icy le Bresil par les mesmes Portugais; lesquels ont aussi leur partage en celle partie du Nouueau monde, qui pour raison de cest arbre est dicte Terre du Bresil. Semblablement les Portugais nous apportent la Maleguette et autre droguerie de la coste de la Guineé, qui est en Aphrique, où ils ont vne Seigneurie de non petite importance, sans que ie vueille taire les succres, et le bon vin de Madere, qu'ils nous apportent d'icelle isle leur apartenant, et lequel est si excellent, qu'il semble que ce soit de la Maluoisie. De leur propre pays de Portugal, ils nous communiquent et accommodent de leur sel, vin, huile, pastel, graine, orcille, et autres

Excellence du vin de Madere.

plusieurs simples et bons fruicts, et frais et secs, et confitz et mis en Conserue, desquels ils font vn grand denier iournellement. Nous leur enuoyons de l'argent massif, et argent vif, et vermeillon, cuyure, bronze, et letton, mis en œuure et cruds, du plomb et de l'estaing, des armeures, artillerie et autres munitions de guerre ; or et argent filé : ainsi comme du reste des denrées et marchandises que nous enuoyons aussi en Espaigne.

En fin ie diray comme de Barbarie (region posée en Aphrique) on nous conduit icy du succre, de l'azur, des gommes, coloquintes, cuirs, pelleterie, et plumages tresbeaux, et de plusieurs sortes. Et là ceux de ce pays enuoyent des draps, toiles, sarges, et merceries sans fin ; du metal et autres choses.

Or ne sçauroit on priser ce trafic et maniement de marchandise, ny dire de quelle consequence il est, voire ny penser (tant s'en fault le descrire) de quelle importance et vtilité : toutesfois tacherons nous d'en mectre en lumiere quelque chose de ce qui est en general : et pour ce faire, nous specifierons particulierement la portée d'aucunes denrees qu'on conduit en ces regions, choisissant de chascune prouince des susalleguees, quelque espece de marchandise, non tant des principales, que de celles desquelles par beaucoup de moyens et occasions nous auons tres-asseurée cognoissance. Et afin de ne vous confondre en discours, nous laisserons aussi le reste de l'importance de ce Chaos, à fin que le sage liseur y assée son bon iugement ; ou bien qu'vn plus expert et capable auteur entreprenne ceste charge si onereuse. En premier lieu donc, parlans de l'Italie, nous disons que les draps de soye, l'or et l'argent filé, les camelotz, grosgrains et autres, les soyes prestes, et celles qui sont à faire, ces choses seules, sans que nous entrions sur le discours des autres, qui sont conduites icy du pays d'Italie, montent toutz les ans d'ordinaire enuiron à trois millions d'escus d'or.

On y conduict d'Alemaigne si grande quantité de plusieurs sortes de fustaines, qu'ils montent à la valeur de plus de six cens mille escus par an : le vin du Rhin, qui aussi est de là conduit par tout ce pays ; c'est vn cas fort merueilleux du prix que cela monte ; et quoy que l'vne fois plus, l'autre moins, si est ce que nous trouuons ordinairement toutz les ans estre menez icy

plus de 40,000. tonneaux dudict vin, chascun tonneau tenant six ames d'Anuers, et ces Ames venans chascune à la concurrence de trois Barils de Florence: et le Tonneau venant à raison de trente et six escus, monteroit enuiron vn million et demy d'escus d'or.

Lastre ou muid de grain.

De Dannemarck, et d'Osterland, de Liuonie, de Poloigne, et autres pays Septentrionaux, nommez cy dessus, on conduit d'an en an en Hollande soixante mille lastres ou mesures de grain, et sur tout de seigle: chascun lastre venant d'ordinaire au pris de 40. florins de 56. gros, qui seroyent cinq cens soixante mille liures de gros monnoye de Flandres: lesquelles liures, aualués et priseés à trois escus piece, font vn million six cens quatre vingtz mille escus d'or.

Vin de France combien monté porte en Anuers.

De France on enuoye ordinairement, et par mer et par terre en ce pays, enuiron quarante mille tonneaux de vin de la mesure susalleguee, quelquefois plus, quelquefois moins, suiuant qu'il y a bonne saison de vinée et l'an: le prix revient, l'vn portant l'autre, à vingt et cinq escus pour tonneau: ce qui reuiendroit par an à vn million d'escus. On y enuoye plus de quarante mille bales de Pastel; et mises chascune à sept escus et demy, feroyent la somme de trois centz mille escus. Quant au sel de Brouage icy conduit, toutz les ans il y en arriue six mille centz, chascun cent contenant cent tonneaux de 225. à 230. liures pour tonneau, plus ou moins, selon que le sel est blanc et net: Lesquelz six mille centz calculez à trente escuz le cent, viennent à faire la somme de cent quatre vingtz mille escus.

Le Pastel et sa valeur.

Grand nombre de sel de France au pays bas.

On souloit enuoyer d'Espaigne à Bruges touts les ans plus de quarante mille sacs de laine: mais depuis peu de temps en ça comme les Espaignols se soyent mis à faire plus de draperie que de coustume, on n'en enuoye plus tant: de sorte que l'an 1560., que l'escriuoy cecy, il n'en fut porté que vingt et cinq mille sacs; lesquels à raison de vingtcinq escus pour sac, montent six centz vingt et cinq mille escus. Mais les vins qui nous viennent d'Espaigne, sont de plus grand apport beaucoup que les laines.

Nous trouuons qu'on conduict de Portugal en Anuers d'vn an à autre, pour plus d'vn million d'escus vaillant d'espicerie.

En fin parlans d'Angleterre (nous ne ferons estat d'Escosse, d'Hirlande, ny de Barbarie, pource qu'on ne voit icy guere de

chose de si grande importance, qui en vienne) et dirons que les laines d'iceluy royaume Angloys (l'estape et trafic desquelles n'aguere se tenoit et faisoit à Calays, et qui est ores à Bruges) reuiennent à plus de mille deux cents serpillieres de plusieurs sortes et prix : ce que calculé monte à plus de deux cents cinquante mille escus par an. Mais c'est vn cas esmerueillable de la draperie qui est conduitte d'Angleterre en ceste prouince : car il est cler et euident que l'vn an portant l'autre, et raportant les carisez et autres draps menus aux entiers, cela reuient à plus de deux cents mille pieces entieres, lesquelles pour le moins sont estimées vingt et cinq escus piece ; et ainsi le tout reuiendroit à plus de cinq millions d'escus par an : lequel thresor prouenant de la draperie, et les laines, auec le proffit et traite de tant d'autres biens que les Angloys apportent par deça, est employé pour auoir de nous celles denrées que nous auons dict cy dessus estre portées en Angleterre. Pour ce considerant et calculant bien ce trafic, ie trouue que tant en baillant, que receuant, le commerce qui se faict de ces Pays auec celuy d'Angleterre (qui est celuy qui le croiroit ?) monte par an plus de douze millions d'escus, au grand proffit et commodité de l'vne et l'autre des Prouinces : de sorte qu'à peine se pourroyent elles passer l'vne de l'autre, tant le mutuel commerce leur est necessaire. Et ne faut oublier que les marchands, pour ne tomber en si grand hazard de perte, s'asseurent l'vn l'autre d'vne bonne partie des denrées, qui vont et viennent par mer, à certain prix, duquel ils accordent ensemble pour y enuoyer des vaisseaux aupres, affin de les maintenir : et ainsi ils se departent les pertes, chascun en portant sagement sa part.

7. A PROJECT FOR ERECTING A STAPLE AT IPSWICH, 1573.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. LXXXVIII., No. 22.]

Ipswich out of England or Andwerpe in England.

To the right honnorable the Lordes of the Queenes maiesties most honnorable privy counsayle.

Forasmoche as (right honnorable) our want of compendiousnes in writing or pennynge of this our Devise is soche as we arre

not able in Learned wise to set fourth the same as the greatenes and worthynes of the matter requireth, yet accordyng to our vnlearned manner and rude fashion we have thought it most meete for the better explayning of our meaninge concerning the same Devise to reduce the same into artycles of Commodities and articles of governement, with certayne other instructions appertynent (as we thincke) to the furtheraunce of the Devise. And althoughe we do assure our selves, that we cannot sufficiently set fourth all those commodities whiche will ensue to the Queenes Maiestie and the publique weale of this Realme by the said Devise, So do we submytt our selves and our iudgementes (as appertayneth) to your honnors profounde iudgementes as touching the articles of governement. Moost humbly beseching your Honnors to accept our attemptes in good parte, being by us most symplie and playnely ment, and we according to our bounden dutyes shall contynually pray to almighty god for the preservation of your honnors in helth and welth with encrease of moche honnor long to remayne.

Your honnors bounden
Jhon Johnson
and
Christopher Goodwyn.

Libertyes, Fredomes, priviledges, easy Towles and Customes graunted vnto merchantes and levyed vpon their goodes, wares and merchandises have brought the greatest trafficke and trade of Europe into the Lowe Countries, and the whole Lowe Countreys, their Cittyes and Townes, and [*sic*, are] by the meanes therof merveylously enritched. And that this Device may well be iustifyed to tende to the great benefite of the Queenes Maiestie and the publicke weale of this Realme we have thought it goode To take the towne of Andwerpe for an example. Lodowyke Gwychardyne, Florentyne, exquisitely searching out the originall of the great traffique to the said Towne of Andwerpe and other Townes of the Lowe Countreys (in his booke which he made of the estate of the Lowe Countreys), affirmeth the first resorte of merchauntes straungers to the said Towne of Andwerpe to be

begun in the yeare of our Lorde god 1503, being then a poore Towne and sustained moest by fishing. But syns that tyme merchantes have so traded thither by reason of libertyes, priuiledges, easy Towles and Customes, that it is well knowen to be at this day the great store-house of the substaunce of Europe aswell of merchandises as of treasure. The said Gwychardine affirmeth thexcises of wyne and beere taken within the said Towne to amount yearely above three hundred Thousande dvcates, And the Towles and other rightes belonging to the prince and to the said Towne to amount to as moche (a thing not vnlike to be true if their magnificent buildinges and other their doinges be well considered). The Cheife grounde of which Traffique to the said Towne grewe upon the repayer of the merchantes adventurers from Brudges thither, to the decay of Brudges, and to the enritching of Andwerpe. And it is to be hoped that by this Devise some meane Cytye or Towne in this Realme in as small nomber of yeares may encrease to the like estate and ritches (having as Commodious an haven for the receyte of shippes and being scituate in as meete a place for traffique as is Andwerpe and in a more plentifull Countrey), yf the said Company of merchantes adventurers (the allurers or rather drawers of all other nations of Europe after them) may be apoynted by some contynuans of tyme to keepe their maertes here in Englande, in some Cyttye or Towne meete and Convenyent for the same, where they may vse their priviledges and traffique; after whom the greatest and best companyes of bankes of merchantes will undoubtedly folowe, as vnto a Land of pleasure, lyberty and Fredome aswell of their consciences in relligion, savety of their bodyes and goodes (for which cause very many have abandoned Andwerpe and the Lowe countreys at this day), as also to be free from the greate and manifold exactions of excises and other Tributes they pay contynually in the said Lowe Countreys.

The company of merchantes adventurers vsing their Trade to the said maert Cytie or Towne may assure them selves to be free and out of daunger of the Duke of Alua, or any other forayne prynce.

The adventuring of their wares and merchandises vnto the

said maert Cytie or Towne, and from thence, will not be so daungerous as it is into the Lowe Countreys or from thence.

Where in Andwerpe and in other townes of that Countreye, there are not so fewe in nomber as twelve thousand people, of Dyers, sheremen and others, mayntayned and Lyve only upon the commodities of english Cloth, and other comodityes of this Realme, So wold the same mayntaine as many of the Queenes Maiesties poore subiectes of those sciences and misteryes to Lyve here in Englande, of the which sciences and misteryes there are a great nomber of veary poore people, whiche for want of wurke do suffer great penury; a thing very Lamentable that [by] our commodities we shold releive and enritche strangers and oure owne people to suffer povertie and indigency.

The Queenes Maiesties revenewes shall by bringing the said trade to the said maert Citye or Towne be greatly encreased, as is alledged in the first article of Commodities.

The great Frequentacion of merchantes into the Lowe Countreys is the Cause of a merveylous nomber of shippes to trade there, whereof we [have] right good experience. It is supposed that Holland, Zealand, Brabant and Flaunders are able to make above seaven hondred sayle of hulkes and other shippes, wherof the Lest to be an hundred Tonnes, besides Busses for the fyshing, Hoyes, playtes, and other shipping. Our shippes are better Cheape builded, better cheape victualled, and our marryners wages Lesse then theirs, so is it a consequent that our ships are to serve the merchant as good Cheape in Freighte as theirs, or rather better Cheape, our ships more nymbler and handsommer ships to serve the merchant then theire shippes, and euery nation shalbe Compelled of necessytie to use by meanes of their traffique some of our shippes, by whiche reason our navigation shall encrease. And by profe we have knowen merchantes to give and Take Lesse assurance vppon english bottoms, then vpon hulkes or other straungers shippes. And further if necessitie shall so requyre, her Maiestie shall have a great[er] nomber of straungers shippes to serve her by meanes of this trafficke, then she now hath, or can have.

It is to be hoped, and of consequence it must follow, that the trade of merchantes to the said Citty or Towne will bring

an infinite nomber of sciences, misteryes and handycraftes to be vsed in other Cyttyes and Townes in this Realme, and the youth of this Realme to be instructed in those sciences, mysteryes and handicraftes, as it hath Done in a great nomber of Townes in the Lowe Countreys, not only to the enritching of them, but also to the education and bringing vp of their people, and to kepe them from poverty.

This traffique will encrease the treasure of this Realme, for that all straungers may bring of all coynes of sylver and gold, aswell of that which shalbe valewed by her highnes as of other coynes vnvallewed. But none to be Carryed awaye but that which shalbe by her highnes coyned here in the said maerte Citty or Towne, or here vallewed as aforsaid. By reason wherof the Queenes Maiestie shall reape a great benefite in the coynage, besides the coynage of sylver which wilbe brought hither uncoyned.

By the traffique of merchantes straungers to the said maert Citty or Towne all maner of munitions and other thinges necessary for the Defence of this Realme wilbe brought hither as it hath bene to Andwerpe, so that her Maiestie shall have in her owne Realme sufficient to serve her Highnes at all tymes, without seking of it else where.

Her Maiestie by this devise shall not only be assured of the choisest substaunce of her merchantes to be within her owne Realme, but she shall have here also a great substaunce of other merchantes, subiectes to other princes her Maiesties neighboures. So that if any question of troble shold arise betwixt her Maiestie and any other prince, her Maiestie may well assure her selfe to have the advantage or forehande of them, where as now they have for the moste parte (by the traffique of our merchantes, and spetially into the Lowe Countreys) thadvantage of her Maiesties subiectes, as by sondry dyetes holden vpon arrestes there made and other wise matters brought in question of later yeares may be well and manifestly proved and iustifyed.

The somme of all this devise tendith to bring the traffique and trade of merchantes, which have before these late trobles repayred and at this day do repayre to Andwerpe and other

places of the Lowe Countreyes, to this new marte Citty or Towne within this Realme of Englande: To augment the Queenes Maiesties revenewes sondry wayes: To make an assured estate of traffique for the merchantes adventurers: To mayntayne the navigacion of this Realme, and to encrease the same as we can prove by sondry and dyverse allegations: To encrease artificers of all sciences, faculties and mysteryes within this Realme: To enritche the Realme with treasure: And fynally, besides many other benefites which will ensewe to the weale publicke of this Realme, the Queenes Maiestie shall alwayes have the advantage of any other prince her neighbour, yf at any tyme he wolde make any quarrell against her.

Certayne Articles supposed to be very necessary for the gouernement of the new maert Towne or Citty to be appoynted here in Englande.

The Citty or Towne appoynted is most necessarily to be governed concerning matters iudiciall and criminall (yf it shall please the Queenes Maiestie so to allowe of it), except the tryall of Landes and tenementes reserved only to be tryed and discussed by the Lawes of the Realme, by the order of the Civill Lawes, concerning all soch matters as shalbe done within the said Cyttie or Towne or the libertyes of the same, for asmoche as all straungers are rather desyrous to be governed by the same Lawe vnder the which they be naturally borne then by any other. And from the same Citty or Towne in soche Cases to vse appellacions vnto the courte of the delegates, as in Civill causes by the Lawes of this Realme is permitted and allowed.

The said Citty or Towne is to be free for alle persones, aswell englishmen inhabitantes within the said Cyttye or Towne as all other merchantes straungers, to buy and sell one with an other within the said Towne without any contradiction or forfayture.

The Company of merchantes adventurers only are to have their trade of traffique thither, as before this tyme they had into the Low Countreys, and all other Englishmen and denisens to be excluded from traffiquinge thither within [*sic*] any Comodi-

ties of this Realme as before tyme they have bene into the said Lowe Countreys.

The said company of merchantes adventurers to transporte the comodities of this Realme vnto the said maert Citty or towne, or from the said marte Towne, only by sea and not by land, for the better mayntenaunce of the navy of this Realme, And to pay (where as they shall lade any commodities of this Realme for the said maerte Citty or Towne) to the Queenes Maiestie her droictes of custome and subsidie in soche manner and forme as they ought to do or pay for any wares or merchandises shipped or laden for any outward partes or forayne Countreys. And in like manner to pay to her highnes the like dewtyes of Customes and subsydies, where any wares or merchandises shalbe vnladen and discharged in any porte or place of this Realme from the said maerte Cyttie or Towne.

The company of merchantes adventurers to vse in the said maert Cytty or Towne all soch lybertyes and priueledges as they have had at any tyme before this tyme at Andwerpe. All merchantes straungers to lade to the said maerte Cittye or Towne eny maner of commodityes of this Realme (not prohibited to be laden for any outwarde partes) at sutche tyme as the said merchantes adventurers shall appointe their owne ordynary shipping and lading to the said maerte Citty or Towne, paing to her highnes custome and subsidye before this tyme accustomed to be payd by them for all soche goodes and merchandises as they shall lade thither. And not to transporte any commoditye of this Realme into any parte of the Lowe Countreys or to Callays, but that all soch commodityes shall first be vnladen at the said maerte Cytty or Towne; and therof they, their factors or Atturneys to have awnswered the Tolles and Customes dew to the Queenes Maiestie both inwarde and outwarde accordingly.

The company of the said merchantes adventurers and all straungers to pay there at the said mart Cyttie or Towne all soche Tolles and customes to the vse of the Queenes Maiestie to all intentes and purposes as they have bene accustomed to pay at Andwerpe, aswell of all commodityes shipped or laden thither, as of commodityes laden and shipped from thence.

That no manner of persone or persones inhabiting within the said maerte Citty or Towne, to make any manner of wullen clothes, Kerseis, Cottons, Frizes, Bayes, or other wullen clothes, wherby the traffique of the said merchantes might be in any wise hindered and letted.

No draper or retayler of wollen Clothes, Kerseis, etc. before rehersed, inhabiting within the said Citty or Towne, to buy any wollen Clothes, Kerseis, Cottons, Frizes, Bayes, or other wollen Commodities (made or wrought within this Realme of England) of any persone or persones inhabiting, resident or traffiquing within the said maert Cyttie or Towne, but only of the said Company of merchantes adventurers, or of the merchantes straungers that shall have shipped or transported the said Commodities thither out of England in maner and forme as aforesaid.

That it may be lawfull for any straunger or Forayner to hire or buy any house or houses for his or their dwellinges in the said marte Cytty or Toune without interruption, notwithstanding any Lawe of this Realme to the contrary in that behalfe provided.

The said maert Cyttye or Towne to enioy all soche Fredomes, liberties, Customes and priviledges in euery respect, Condicion and manner as the Towne of Andwerpe hath had at any tyme during the tyme and space apointed to the fredome of the martes. And the tearme and space of the said Fredome to be enioyed in the said marte Cytty or Towne for the like tymes and nomber of dayes of Contynuance as was vsed at Andwerpe before this tyme.

The Freemen and Burgesses of the said maert Citty or Towne to enioy all their libertyes, Franchises and priviledges whatsoever (except in those cases before rehersed and excepted) as they or their predecessors before this tyme have had.

One or two Comen way houses to be only apointed for all merchantes, aswell inhabitantes of the said Cytty or towne as for all straungers and forayners, and thorder of waying and poise of weightes there vsed to be equall for all men without difference. And that no maner of persone, either freman of the said maerte Cytty or Towne, merchant adventurer, merchant

straunger, or other inhabitant, to way any maner of comodities of merchandises (wherof sale shalbe made from one merchant to an other) but onely at the Comen beames and way houses of the said Citty or Towne, and for the waying therof to pay all soche dewtyes, as at any tyme before this hath bene vsed to be paid in the said marte Cytty or Towne, the benefite therof to be to the vse of the said marte Cytty or Towne.

That there be in the said marte Cytty or Towne two or three Comen keyes to lade and vnlade all maner of merchandises, and that no private keyes or cranes (besides those that shalbe so apointed as aforesaid) be permitted or suffred at the which any goodes or merchandises may be laden or vnladen, or the said Cranes permitted to stande, but to be pulled downe for diuerse respectes.

It is thought to be expedient in the said maerte Cytty or Towne, one Coyne of sylver and gold to be coyned (by our soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie) different from the coynes of this Realme according to a Standarde to be by her Maiestie apointed for the same, which sylver and gold, being coyned and vallewed as aforesaid, to be currant within the said marte Cytty or Towne, and so after their vallew to be Currant in England.

So many other coynes of silver and gold being Forrayne Coynes are to be vallewed (as shall please her Maiestie) after the rate of the standardes of the coynes coyned in the said cittye or Towne, or not else where within this her Maiesties Realme. And all other coynes of silver and gold not vallewed to be accompted buyllion, and not to be Currant there, and the same to be brought to the mynte, or vnto soche persones as by her highnes shalbe apointed, to give other valewed moneys in exchaunge for the said vnvallewed sylver or gold.

To avoyde the convay of moneys alredy valewed in this Realme, and that the Lawes alredy made may remayne in force in that respecte, It may please her Maiestie to ordeyne, that all the moneys now Currant in this Realme shalbe without valew in the said marte Cytty or Towne, and the same to be accompted in the same maerte Cyttye or Towne as buyllion, and not to be suffred to be convayd from thence into any foraine partes, neither to suffer any other moneys, having no valewacion

in the said maerte Cytty or Towne, or any buyllion in wedges, or lingotes, or any Light money, to be convayed from the said marte Cytty or Towne into any forrayne partes (except it be into England), vpon the paynes of forfaiture of the same or the valew therof, that shall so be Conveyd away, and further that euery persone or persones that shall convay any of the premisses (in maner and forme as aforesaid) to incurre the daunger of the Lawes of this Realme in that case alredy provided.

That no persone or persones (but only the merchantes adventurers) do buy directly or indirectly any maner of forayne commodities of merchandises within the said marte Citty or Towne, and to transporte the same into any parte of this Realme of England by water or by land at any one tyme above the valew of ten shillinges, and that to be for the provision of his or their household (Cloth, Kersey, Cottons, Frizes, Bayes and soche like wollen commodities of this Realme only excepted), vpon the confiscation of the same as often as any persone or persones shall therin offende. And also if the said forrayne comoditie so bought for the provision of his or their household do amount to the valew of ten shillinges as aforesaid, to pay before it shalbe caryed out of the said maerte Cytty or Towne powndage dew to the Queenes Maiestie, according to soche rate as is graunted to her highnes for subsydie.

That euery person or persones may lawfully bring into the said maerte Cyttye or Towne euery maner of victuall or fewell out of England (so as it be not accompted merchandises) without paying of any custome or subsidie or other dewtyes, other then before tymes hath bene accustomed to be payd in the said marte Cyttie or Towne, and for the same to carry away money only, and no other forrayne merchandise, otherwise then to the valewe above written.

That euery inhabitant within the said maerte Cytty or Towne may buy and sell freely there with any merchant straunger, and all soch goodes and merchandises as he or they shall so have bought, he or they may sell the same agayne within the said maert Cytty or Towne to any persone or persones that will buy the same. But no english inhabitant within the said marte Cytty or Towne (except the same be a merchant adventurer) may

in no wise transporte the same merchandises so bought directly or indirectly into any parte of this Realme of England, or into any forrayne Countrey, vpon the forfayture of all soche goodes and merchandises, the one moytie of which forfayture to be to the Queenes Maiesties vse and thother moytie to the vse of the company of merchantes adventurers.

No merchant english or straunger to lade any Commodities of this Realme, in any haven, porte or Creeke of this Realme, but that the Customer of the said porte (where the said goodes shalbe so laden) do take sufficient bond to the Queenes Maiesties vse of the valew of the said goodes, that the said goodes, wares or merchandises shall not be vnladen or landed directly or indirectly in any haven, porte or place of the Lowe Countreys, or one this syde of Emden in East Frizeland eastwarde, or in any porte or place on this syde of the Seyne hed in Normandye westwarde.

Whereas the haunce of the Stilliarde have certayne lybertyes and prerogatyves which might be a hynderans to the company of the said merchantes adventurers and to the empeachment of this devise, the refourmacion therof we referre (as it appertayneth) to her Maiestie.

All wynes that are to give impost to her Maiestie and that shalbe drawen and spent in the said maerte Cytty or Towne, whither it be in Tavernes or in private houses, shall aunswer to her highnes impost accordingly and the same to be payd by the sellers or drawers of the same wynes.

Some places of defence are necessarily to be erected there for the defence of the said porte, and to kepe the shippes that shall come thither in good order. It may please her Maiestie to allott euery shippe or vessell, that shall repayre to the said maert Cytty or Towne either to lade or vnlade any merchandises, to pay a contribution of i peny of euery Tonne of the burthen of the greatenes of the said vessell or shippe, towardes the mayntaynans of the charges of the said places of defence, and that it may be payd in her highnes Custome house by the tearme of Castell money.

The most convenyent place for the erecting of the said maerte Citty or Towne (vnder your honors Correction) is the Towne of Ipswiche in the County of Suffolke, having thervnto belonging

a noble and safe porte for the receipte of great shippes in great nomber, well knowen to all traders by the sea to this Realme, being directly scituate against Zeland and Flaunders. A very meete place for shippes to arryve vnto both out of the South Countrey with moche more savety then they might arrive in Zeland, being also scituate in a fertile Countrey of all thinges necessary where soch a resorte of trafiquers is to be. And further so scituate as the same cannot be hurtefull in any wise to the Cytty of London for any trafique of Clothe or wares.

Hereafter followith certayne articles to prove more manifestly aswell that the devise for the maertes to be kept in England tendith to the honor and proffit of the Queenes Maiestie, as also that the same is for the proffit and savety of the whole state of the Realme.

Singuler comodities are so desired of many that they cannot like goode thingos, if they onde not to their priuate proffittes.

The devise before mentioned being commytted to the consideration of certayne merchantes, yt seamith they have signifyed some disliking therof, but it was never thought of our partes but those whose private gaynes are touched and those who vse the exchaunge as vsury wold not like therof. Nevertheles trusting, vpon the consideration of the matter to the bottome, that truth will take place, and the honor, proffit, commoditie and savetie of the state of this Realme wayed more then private commodities, Therefore that which followith is added, to thende, that the grounde of the Device may better appeare.

The causes of the florishing estate of the Low Countreys.

In the description of the Lowe Countreys searched out by Lodouike Guichardine Florentyne [it] is affirmed that the principall cause of the florishing estate of the same, with aboundance of ritches, with artes and sciences, with many Townes very welthy and ritche, with a great nombre of shippes, and an infinite nombre of other benefites, no other Countreys comparable therevnto, first proceeded by priviledges graunted vnto dyverse Townes and Countreys. Secondly by erecting of priviledged maertes in diuerse Townes. And thirdly by lybertyes, fredomes, easy Tolles and customes graunted vnto straungers.

Thencreasement of Andwerpe wherof it came.

The beginnyng of thencreasement of Andwerpe was (as he saith) in Anno 1503, that the king of Portugall began his staple of spices. Which spices before the king of Portugall founde the way to the Indies were brought by the Venetians into the Lowe

Countreys. The second encrease of Andwerpe was in Anno 1516, where the english merchantes and with them all the merchauntes of other nations followed from Brudges to Andwerpe there to kepe their Maertes, where the said merchauntes being resident syns that tyme, have drawen the whole trade and traficke in maner of all the world and spetially of all Europe. Which Charles the fift, perceyving and considering what an exceding pleasure and benefite it was vnto him and his Countrey to have soch a masse of treasure by that meanes within his power, he most lovingly entertayned the trafiquers from tyme to tyme with increase of Liberties, by the which also his Maiestie accomplished many his purposes and enterprises that otherwise wold not have bene brought to passe.

The like benefites that Charles themperour and the Low Countreys had by the martes and trafique of merchantes is to be brought into this Realme by the martes and trafique of merchantes.

This description of the Lowe Countreys and of Andwerpe (vnder your honors Correction) provith that the devise for martes to be kept in England tendith to bring to passe vnto the Queenes Maiestie and this Realme the like benefites that have happened vnto Charles the fift and the Lowe Countreys by maertes kept there and by the alluring of merchantes to trade thither, for, as the tyme now giveth occasion, there is [no] countrey or place to be founde so sure and fitt for the purpose as England is. Neither may the merchauntes of England trafique into the Lowe Countreys to hamburghe or to any place so safely to trade with the merchandises of this for the comodyties of other countreys, as all other straungers of all partes for their comodities may come hither. And therefore there wantith nothing to accomplish that which is devised but to erecte a priviledged maert Towne, for therof theffecte will assuredly followe. And before the profe of the thinge be first had by erecting of a maert according to the devise, it is a hard Case to beleeve any thing that shalbe alledged to the contrary. For theffecte is not in any reason to be brought to passe before a beginnynge and profe. Example by Andwerpe and other places, which as they had a begynning, so have they had a tyme to growe and come to that they be or were at.

All straungers may with more sauetie come into England with merhandise then thenglish merchauntes may with sauety venter ouer the seas.

To thende theffect may the more appeare vnto your honnors, first if it shall please your Honnors to consider the booke of the devise. It is manyfested thereby that her Maiesties revenewes wilbe moche encreased, the Realme enritched, the people set a

Certayne reasons to proue the benefites that may come this Realme by the martes and trafique of merchantes into this Realme.

wurke, The Ruyned portes, havens and Townes, and other Cittyes and Townes decayed, to be inhabited and amended by the trafique, besydes a nomber of other benefites. Secondly it is to be proved by the consideration of the masters of the Navigacion of England that the fredome of maertes in England wilbe (by the trafique) the encreasement of the Navye more then all the Lawes hitherto made, Whiche by certayne allegacions and reasons hereafter is declared and proved, wherby this Realme shalbe strengthened and mayntayned moche better then it now is. And thirdely a nomber of wise men of good experience do allowe of the devise, as a thing necessarily to be embraced for the savegard of our selves and for diuerse respectes and good consideration in the said device. Wherefore yf your honors shall please to consider with those that be indifferent, and their private gayne not touched, the same shalbe the better knowen and vnderstoode.

In Anno 1400 Clothing was not used in England and England was serued of cloth out of Lowe Countreys made of english wulles. Thencrease of clothing and other artes brought into England are a great profite and benefite to this Realme. There was neuer soche tyme to drawe all the benefites of the Low Countreys into England as presently now is. Cloth being truly

Furthermore it is alleaged in the said description that after the yeare of 1400 a great nomber of English shippes came yearely into the Lowe Countreys to be provided there of Clothe made of english wulles, and so contynewed vntill the arte of Clothing and Dyeng was brought into England by them of the Lowe Countreys, wherof also there is experience in our tyme, for it is not forty yeares past that Antony Bonuis, an Italian merchant, brought into England the practise of fyne Clothing at Coxsall, etc. And syns that tyme and even presently ther is a great increasement of Clothing in this Realme, of Bayes, Frezadoes and other thinges made of wulles by straungers. Wherof as there is growen great proffit to this Realme and London and diuerse other Cittyes and Townes moche enritched by thencreasement of rentes and otherwise; So is a nomber occupyed therin, and the comodities of the Realme and wull better vttered thereby. Whiche also by the maertes to be kept in England wilbe encreased, for now that the Lowe Countreys shall lacke wulles out of Spayne and quietnes to make Clothe, Yf there may be any ouersight of Clothing in this Realme, that it may be made according to the Lawes of the Realme, The whole trade as well for Italie and the south partes wilbe to this Realme for Clothe, as it is now for the Easte portes. And Clothe being founde truly made in England, the trade of Clothe wilbe

contynued here and not in the Lowe Countreys, for they of the Low Countreys shall never be able to make so good cheape cloth there, as may be made in England.

made will cause great vent therof here and not in the Low Countreys.

Moreover in the said description is declared that thenglish nation occupyed to and from the Low Countreys yearely the valew of twellve myllions of crownes, which at vi$^{s.}$ the crowne amounted vnto xxxvi hondred thousand powndes english. This is a matter of great importaunce and (vnder your honnors correction) worthy of great consideracion. We thinke it wilbe denyed that there is so moche occupyed to and from Hamburghe, but suppose that there is now occupyed but xx^{tie} houndred thousand poundes into and out of the Realme by the merchantes adventurers, And yet is that to great a thing to hassarde to Hamburghe or else where out of the Realme by our Company.

Too great a substance to be occupied into any Countrey out of this Realme; considering the estate of the worlde and thunfaithfulnes of some princes.

Also by the trade to hamburghe there happenith two great causes of great and intollerable losses to this Realme. Thone is that Clothe and the Commodityes of this Realme are falne in price at the least xx. in the hundred, which fall and losse is borne by the Clothemakers and so consequently by the wull growers, who be members of the Common weale not of the least degree. And thother cause of losse is by the indirect carryeng of the commodities of the Lowe Countreys and of other commodities to Hamburgh, and so into this Realme, whiche is out of the waye at least vi^{c} myles, and therefore the charges with thadventure and tyme spent causith all those commodities to be dearer in this Realme at the least xx^{tie} in the hundred. This losse is raysed vpon all degrees of the Realme, and euery one of what degree soever bearith the losse therof in one thing or other that they neede to occupye, thoughe fewe perseave or vnderstande the cause therof. But if your honnors please to vnderstande the dealinges in Suffolke, Norfolke and Essex, and those partes of late with those partes that have brought thither the comodities of Flaunders, yt will appeare playnely what a burthen the whole state of this Realme bearith for the gaynes of a fewe private persones, We pray God the same may be remedyed, as no doubt it will (if this devise take place), before thoppression appeare to playnly to the whole state and subiectes of this Realme. And thus it doth appeare playnly that outwardes and

Two great and intollerable losses borne by the subiectes of this Realme whiche may be easily remoued.

inwardes there is lost by the state of this Realme fower hundred thousand powndes yearely by keping the Maertes at Hamburghe and not in England, which is a great losse and therfore not tollerable for any private respectes to be contynued, either at Hamburghe or elsewhere out of England, considring that so long as soch indirect occuppienges endure of force great losse wilbe to the state of the Realme.

Some men wilnot like of this simple and true declaracion but will wrest all that they can to deface the device, alleaging that the device is to destroy a trade certayne, to mayntaine straungers, that straungers wilnot come to a Maert in England, That London shalbe hindered therby, etc. How be it truth is not to be defaced, neither is the device to destroy the trade of english merchantes or otherwise to hurte any place but to encrease them, and that for the savety aswell of their goodes as of their privileages. The device tendith to enritche the Realme vniversally and to advaunce the pretious comodities therof within this Realme moche more then ever they were before.

They that respect only their priuate profites can wrest reasons to serue their turnes if they may be beleued.

Those that seame to dislike of this matter have other dowtes (which they alleage not openly) that causeth them to sticke in the matter, and that is that, if the maertes shold be kept in Englande, then may noblemen and gentlemen become merchantes and so take away the proffitt of those that be now merchantes. But that is a vayne dowbt as we take it: for noblemen and gentlemen are lyke to contynew as they be, and wil not abase them selves to become merchantes. And the device is that the merchantes now present and the successours shall enioy all their privileages inviolably. And therefore it is not to be doubted but they will mayntaine the same to their vttermost, and provide (as they have hitherto done) that none of what degree soever they be shall take from them any parte of their privileages graunted vnto them, neither is it [to] be thought that any nobleman or gentleman will attempte to breake the same.

Secreat doutes made.

Where in Dutchland, Fraunce, Italy, and other countreys the princes have erected fayres on Maertes, and do abate Tolles and Customes to drawe the traffique of other Countreys vnto their maertes, as a spetiall cawse to proffit their Townes and Countreys, By the device exhibited the Queenes Maiestie shalnot

In other countreys princes loose of their custome to drawe the trafique of

abate any Custome Custome [*sic*], but shall gayne and encrease her Maiesties revenewes more then ever her predecessors have had, and benefite the Realme also with the commodities of the same more then ever it was before.

merchantes to them. But the Q[ueens] M[aiesty] may encrease her customes and drawe the trafique of merchantes into England.

The princes of the Lowe Countreys have in tymes past most lovingly entertayned thenglish nation, first to trade thither with wull, and afterwardes with Clothe, Wherby the whole trade of all Europe hathe bene drawen thither to their great commoditie and proffit. And how can it be then but that this Realme shalbe greatly benefited by Maertes kept in England, Considring that the commodities therof be soche as all the world desyreth and hath neede of, And that merchantes of all partes may as directly (and as the tyme now servith more comodiously) come hither into England then to any place beyond the Seas?

The comodities of this Realme haue benefited other Countreys and why shold they not rather benefite this Realme?

And therefore if some of the merchantes adventurers for private respectes refuse to come to a maerte to be proclaymed in England, yet so beneficiall a thinge to the prince and the whole state of the Realme is not to be refused for the advantage of a fewe in nombre in respecte of the rest of the Realme: And seing we have experience of the Lowe Countreys that the tryvmphing estate of the same hath growen of trafique by priviledges of Martes and other Lybertyes, Thensample thereof is to be followed in this Realme, wherby that that hath happened vnto them may now happen vnto vs, for the tyme in all reasonable mens iudgementes servith now very well. And the same is to be brought to passe, not only without Losse, but with great honor, proffit and commodytie both of the Prince and the whole state of the Realme.

To benefite a fewe to hurt a greate nombre, and the rest of all degrees of this Realme, is not reasonable.

Allegacions and reasons grounded vpon experience wherby the navigacion of this Realme shalbe encreased by having of a Marte Towne within this Realme.

The company of merchantes adventurers shall occupye to and from the said Maerte Towne the like nomber of shippes as before they occupyed to Andwerpe, by reason no goodes or merchandises shalbe transported to the same Towne or carryed from thens but by sea, as the devise purportith.

The englishe merchantes did occupie a great nomber of hoyes

for the transporting of commodities out of the Lowe Countreys for all the portes of this Realme from Barwicke to Apsham in the county of Deuon, which wilbe from the said Maerte Towne only by english shippes.

The trafique from Andwerpe to Roan and all other places in Normandy almost done altogithers by hoyes and hoyebarkes, the like trafique wilbe from the Maerte Towne into those partes by our english shippes.

The trafique to the maert Towne wilbe thoccasion of many our shippes to be occupyed for the fetching of wynes and woade from Burdeaux, more then at this tyme is occupyed that waye, because our shippes are more better and meeter shippes for that trade then either the Brettons or the Normans, and our marryners more better acquaynted with the Coastes of England.

The trafique from Andwerpe and the Lowe Countreys for Portugall, Andolozia and Levaunt is most done by hulkes, which wilbe for the most parte converted to be done by our shippes.

A great nomber of shippes wilbe occupied for the trade of Barbaria and the Canaries for sugres, Syropes and other commodyties, which wilbe vented and sold at the said Maert Towne and transported into other Countreys beyond the Seas.

A great nombre of great shippes (more then now is) wilbe employed to the fetching of Salt in the wynter season, from the Bay, Lisbone and Spayne, and so in the opening of the yeare the same Salt wilbe laden (for the most parte) into other shippes repayring to the maert Towne from Dansicke and other regions Eastewardes, as they now do into Zeland [and] Holland, and also to be transported Eastewardes in the said shippes, that did fetche the said salt from the Bay and other places.

By the trafique of the Maerte Towne a great nomber of marryners wilbe for the fishing of herringes employed and other fishe more then is now, aswell for the victualling of the said marte Towne as for the victualling of shippes that will repayre thither.

By the trafique to the maerte Towne lightermen, bootemen and Ship carpenters wilbe moche encreased.

The proofe and iustification of these are to be averred and iustified by the Masters of the navigacion of England.

Commodities which the company of merchantes adventurers shall receyve by the having of a marte Towne in England.

The merchantes shall and may assure them selves to enioy their priviledges without any charges or interruption. Where as now they are at great charges in the defence of the priviledges, and yet notwithstanding many Tymes interrupted.

The adventuring of their goodes by sea to the said marte Towne is not like to be so dangerous as it was to Andwerpe, And therfore their trade is like to be more assured.

The merchantes shall and may have better oversight of their servantes and factors then they had before when they traded to Andwerpe. The merchantes Trading with their goodes and substaunce to the said maert Towne neade not to feare any arrestes, as before they have both suffred and feared to their great Losses.

The merchantes are like to have moche better credit of merchaunt straungers then before tyme they had at Andwerpe, forasmoche as the said merchantes by their trading here are not like to sustayne any Losses by the seas, And also because they are better to be knowen here then in a forayne Countrey.

The merchantes shall and may make their returne moche better and soner from the said Maert Towne then they cold from Andwerpe, And by that meanes may make a better estimation of their Commodities then before they cold do.

Soche as have bene and are outlopers into the Lowe Countreys, to the greate disturbance of the company and the hinderance of of [*sic*] their trafique, shall by the device be shortened of moche better then ever before tyme they were.

Allegacions to prove that London shal not be hurte by the marte kept at Ipswiche.

It is first to be considered that whatsoever comodities do come into the Realme, that the said commodities are consumed and spent here.

The Citty of London being scituate in the harte and bowelles of this Realme hath by that meanes the repayer of all places of this Realme for all manner of necessary Comodities.

The marte being kept at Ipswiche shall not lett that repayer

thither, forasmoche as the device is that no english man shall trade thither but the merchantes adventurers, nor any comodyties either brought thither or carryed from thence but by seas. So that the chapmen of all places of this Realme shall repayer to London as they now do.

Where it may be obiected that this device will drawe straungers from the cytty of London, and to vse their trafique at Ipswiche, we thinke it will so do. Therfore we say that if the great trade that is in London consisteth as well of merchant straungers as of English merchantes, and that the said merchantes straungers be drawen from thens, by reason of the Libertyes, easy Tolles and Customes which they shall by the device have at Ipswiche, So shall the Citty of London reape comoditye and proffit by the absence of straungers from thens, forasmoche as the trade is now mayntayned in London as well by merchantes straungers as by englishe merchantes. And so shall the welthe of the Citty consiste in the Cittizens them selves, where as now it consisteth as well in straungers as in Cittizens.

Wheare the county of Suffolke (in the which county the said Towne of Ipswiche doth stand) is a country of moche draping of clothe, yet the great nomber of all that clothe draped there servith for Dansicke and the east partes, and so for Spayne, Portugall and other partes of the South. So as the like sale of those Clothes is to be contynued at London, forasmoche as our device toucheth only the Lowe Countreys.

We have (right honnorable) touched in our booke of device sondry and diuerse matters of great importance, but if [it] shall please your honnors to consider of this our last conclusion, your Honnors shall perceave the wayes and meanes to reduce King Phillip (our enemy as we do now take him), as our opinion servith, to yelde to all reasonable compositions as it shall please her Maiestie to requier, for if the necessitye that Spayne and the Indies have of the Lowe Countreys and of commodities brought thither by forayne nations be soche as Spayne and the Indies cannot forbeare the same, Neither yet the Lowe Countreys to contynew to their vtter vndoing if the trade be taken from [them], What a subuersion of those estates will followe if the same trade of the Lowe Countreys be brought hither into this Realme, as it

now may be with quietnes and with great advantage. The like damage cold by no meanes be practised against King Phillip as the taking away of the trades of the Lowe Countreys. And the like benefite cold by no meanes be devised for this Realme, and thenritching of the same. And therefore if the erecting of a maert Towne here to be kept in England may be once determyned and Published, then we trust your honnors shall well perceave that to proceede in effecte which nowe is touched in writing.

Your Honnors humble suppliantes,
John Johnson
Christopher Goodwyn.

Obiections made by a man of gravitie and wurship, requested by the Earle of Leycester to have conference with vs concerning the device of Maertes to be kept in England.

Ipswiche is but seaven myles from the mayne sea and Andwerpe is fifty myles and hath flushing by the way, as Harwiche lyeth for Ipswiche. Now whither it be convenyent the marte Towne ly so near all sodayne invasions by sea. Osburne, 1

Answer.

Ipswich is vij myles from the sea and Andwerpe is 50 myles, which is to be considered, because that the nearer the sea the Maertes be kept the wurse it is for sondry respectes. But Ipswiche is aswell guarded by harwiche and other fortresses of defence mentioned in the booke of device, as Andwerpe is by flushing, or any other place of defence. Therefore Ipswiche being nearer the sea then Andwerp is meeter for a marte Towne, and the nearenes to the sea is no discomoditie but a great commoditie for the merchantes in diuerse respectes, neither can there be any attempt of forayne hostilitie by sea or by land against Ipswiche so easily as against Andwerpe, whereof in our dayes there is good remembrance. Johnson.

Obiection.

Whither the King of Spayne, themperour and the Frenche King wil not empeache the erection and contynewans of this Maert Towne. Osburne, 2.

Answer.

Johnson. By a new Maert to be erected in England the King of Spaynes proffittes in the Lowe Countreys wilbe hindered, so that he and his frendes Themperour and the french king will empeache the contynuance of the same in England. But to erecte a marte in England, or to do any thing else proffitable for the Realme, is honnorable for the Prince of this Realme and for the state of the same. And the like hath bene attempted by keping of the Staple at Callays, begon in Edward the thirdes tyme but contynued vntill Callais was lost; during which tyme there was no empeachment given, and yet the staple orders were alwayes observed. Also the princes before mentioned have and will ordayne anything in their Countreys without considerations of our proffittes, and they have not nor wilnot forbeare the doing of any thing that is good for their Countreys or thincreasement of trafique into their Countreys for our pleasures. Neither therecting of this Maert in England so toucheth the French merchantes or the merchantes of the East partes, that it will be any discomoditie at all vnto them, as we can prove by reasons of good experiens. Therefore to erect a maert in England will not give any reasonable cause of offence to other Princes, for whither we make Maertes or no maertes in England, yf they can take any advantage of vs we may be assured they will do it.

Obiection.

Osburne, 3. Whither the Italians and high Almayne merchantes will rather trade to a Staple Towne neare their owne Countreys, or further of with the venter of the sea more then they vsed before.

Awnswer.

The Italians and high Almayne merchantes will rather trade to a Staple Towne neare their owne Countrey then further of with the venter of the sea more then the vsed before. But our Maert in England, thoughe the same be further from Italy and Almayne then Andwerpe is, yet may the merchantes better

convey to and from their merchandises into England then to Andwerpe. As for thadventure by the sea, it is nothing estemed by merchantes, considering that the assurance wilnot be chargeable as the caryage by land, neither doth any merchant force of the farnes of any voyage; so he may have proffit, it is all one to a merchant whither it be farre of or neare. Therefore to a Staple Towne in England (thoughe it [be] further then Andwerpe) merchantes will willingly come. For there they shall fynde both Clothe whiche they neede and seeke for, and also they shall vtter soch commodities as they shall bring with them, aswell to serve this Realme as other Realmes and Countreys.

Obiection.

Whither [as] trade standes the yeare 1573 the merchantes of the world wilnot willinglyer wishe and procure the avncyent and experienced trade to be renewed, then a new stapled trade to be erected. Osburne, 4.

Aunswer.

It is like that, as the trade standes now in the year of 1573, merchantes of the world will rather wishe and procure the auncient experienced trade to be renewed than a new stapled trade here in England. But as the trade now standith, the world being troble[d] where the maertes were and be kept, and that the merchantes and their goodes cannot be in any maner of savety, yt is evident that the merchantes will be glad to have their trade in England, where they shalnot be charged either in conscience or with excises or other Taxes that be layd vpon them where their old trade was and is. Therefore there is [no] doubt they will with good will remove their trade hither, and so, if they be asked the question, the merchantes will aunswer when they shall know what fredomes, libertyes and benefites that they shall enioye here. Johnson.

Obiection.

Whither the merchantes of the world will willingly yeld to have their trade stapled with[in] an Iland or vpon the firme land as it hath bene. Osburne, 5.

Aunswer.

Johnson. The merchantes of the world wilnot wilnot [*sic*] willingly yelde to have their stapled trade within an Iland if they may have it vpon a firme land. But the merchantes of the world will willingly yeld to repayer to any place where they may have trafique, libertyes and fredomes, whither it be Iland or firme land, as we see by common experience. Therefore all places be a like to them, as good is a Iland as any other place if they may have proffit by their trafique.

Obiection.

Osburne, 6. Whither the subiectes of the Realme will beare the confluence of so many straungers within this Realme, or is it meete for them so to do being an Iland, as will growe here by this new erected maerte.

Aunswer.

Johnson. Thenglish subiectes wilnot beare the confluens of so many straungers within this Realme as will growe heir by this new erected marte, nether is it meete for them so to do bein an Iland. But the subiectes of England do beare the resorte of a number of straungers which be artificers and take away their livinges before any marte is erected. And by the erecting of the marte at Ipswiche there shall no nomber of artificers be there suffred, but soche as shall be come subiectes and vnder governement, the rest of the straungers that shall come shalbe merchantes who wilbe proffitable to this Realme thoughe it be an Iland. Therefore the subiectes of this Realme, that have borne and do beare so moche all redy with straungers, will (no dout) beare with the confluence of them and love them also, because they shall have proffitt by them.

Obiection.

Osburne, 7. Whither it be expedient, now trade is by gods ordynaunce disturbed thoroughe the world, to presse the Realme of Englande with a further staye of trade while this new innovacion may be holpen,

Aunswer.

By gods ordynance the trade being disturbed thoroughe the world, it is not expedient to presse the Realme of England with a further stay of trade while this new innovacion may be holpen. But thoughe that trade be disturbed by gods ordynance thoroughe the world, yet shalnot the Realme of England be pressed with any further staye of trade in the erecting of this Maerte Towne as it was pressed by the late innovations made to Emden and Hamburghe, for those trades were only for Sommer and not for winter, wheare as this place servith bothe for wynter and Sommer. Neither is hamburghe or Emden to be compared to the scituacion of this new Maert Towne. And althoughe those trades were vndirect Trades and very damagable to the state of this Realme and the merchantes of the same, yet because they knew no other meanes to vse any trade but those wayes they embraced them. Therefore now that a more beneficiall way of trade with good assurance is devised it ought the rather to be embraced. Johnson.

Obiection.

Whether the Realme of England may beare the decay of the navy therof while this new Trade growe vsuall. Osburne.

Aunswer.

The Realme of England cannot beare the decay of the Navy therof 'while this new trade growe vsuall. But where it is supposed that the Navy of England shall receyve damage of the navigation during (the supposed) tyme of staye of trafique or whilest it may growe vsuall, The device doth purporte the like nombre of shippes in all respectes to be vsed from all partes of the Realme to the said Maert Towne with further encreasement of the same, as by allegacions and reasons we have in our said device alleaged. Therefore we referre our selves to thexperience of thincreasement of the navy of Flaunders, Holland and Zeland growen by trafique, and also to the iudgement of the masters of the Navigacion of England. Johnson.

Obiection.

Osburne, 9. Whither the carryage of wullen commodities all by sea to the new maert Towne wilnot encrease a more charge vpon the clothe then hath bene before when it was shipped for Flaunders.

Awnswer.

Johnson. The carriage of the wullen commodities all by sea to the new maert Towne will encrease a more charge vpon the cloth, then hath bene before when it was shipped for Flaunders. But thoughe the carryage of wullen commodities to the maert Towne chaunce to be more by vj *d.* vpon a Clothe then it was to Andwerpe, yet the transporting from the said maert Towne wilnot be so chargeable as the caryage by lande into the partes of Germany and so Eastwardes from the place wheare the maertes be now kept: for the convay of wullen comodities from Andwerpe to Culloigne by land is more chargeable to the merchantes then the caryage wilbe from the Maert Towne in England either to Hamburge, Brealme, Emden or Cullen, althoughe charges of assurans of their goodes by sea be accompted. Therefore all thinges accompted there wilbe rather lesse charges by this maerte then there is now wheare the Maert is.

Obiection.

Osburne, 10. Whither the free Tolle at the new Maert Towne wilnot decay the straungers Custome to the Queene of xiiij *s.* vj *d.* vpon a Clothe.

Aunswer.

Johnson. The new Marte will decay the straungers custome to the Queene of xiiij *s.* vj *d.* vpon a clothe. But the free Tolle at the maert Towne willnot be a hinderance to the Queene of her custome but an encreasement of her custome. For by the device we do not barre any merchant straunger to lade any maner of wullen commodities in any parte of the Realme no more then they be barred now, so alwayes that that which shall go into the Lowe Countreys be stapled at the maert Towne. Therefore the

Queenes Maiestie shall have no detryment in her Custome by erecting of this maerte, but rather her revenewes wilbe encreased.

Obiection.

Whither London shalbe able to beare so great an alteration as this new Maert Towne will make therof. Osburne, 11.

Awnswer.

London shall not be able to beare so great an alteration as this new Maert Towne will make. But London shalbe able to beare that alteracion that the Maertes in England shall make. For if there be consideracion had to the device that the new maerte Towne is in all respectes to be as Andwerpe is (only the scituacion of the place excepted), so London, being scituate in the bowelles of the Realme and having the vpdraught of the Realme as well for the vent of English commodities as also for the vent of forayne commodities, shallnot be letted or hyndered of those benefites, but reape rather comodities therby, as by sondry reasons annexed to the said device we have proved. Therefore London can have no more hurte by Ipswiche (which we call Andwerpe in England) then it had or hath by Andwerpe in Brabant, and that is nothing at all, and so we thincke the merchantes will say with vs. Johnson.

pro Johnson and Goodwyn.

8. "A SPECIALL DIRECTION FOR DIVERS TRADES," *c.* 1575-85.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CCLV., No. 56. Printed by Conyers Read in Eng. Hist. Review, Vol. XXIX. (1914), pp. 515-24, also by N. S. B. Gras in The Evolution of the English Corn Market (1915), pp. 429-39. The former text has been followed here, but occasionally what has seemed a better reading in the latter has been incorporated. The Direction was probably written by a West Country merchant.]

A speciall direction for divers trades of merchaundize to be used for soundrie placis upon adverticementes, aswell for the

chusinge of the time and wares for every of those placis. Most Beneficiall for those that use the trade of marchandize.

All the yeare with wheate.

Item, for all the parts of Galicia, course cloth and Bridgwaters, northeren halfe clothes, manchester cottons, hides, cal[f]skines, shepe skines, dressed brecknockes, bristowe frises and tymbye fryses, wexe, flaninge and wedmoles of Wales, wheate, Butter, chease, highe cotton fryses of carmarthen in Sowthe Wales.

Commodities retorned from thence.

Item, the comodities thence ar wynes of Rubadavye and Orenges and Lemons and Tymber and Boordes of chestnuttes and walnutes, where of the[re] is greate store and goode cheape, especially in villia viziosa. Here you must take hede that you gree with the customers for your custome before you land your wares, for they will gree with you for two in the hondert. Otherwyse, they will make you paye viii or x in the hondert. You must allso take hede that you bringe no Flaunders wares upon englishe bottomes, for yt is defended.

All the winter with wheate, with clothe in the somer.

Item, for san Jhoan de Luz in Fraunce, all kinde of course wares, wexe and tallowe, butter and chease, wheate, Rye and Beanes, byskye (so that it be brought thither at christmas or shortly after to sarve the newefoundland men), also candells, shepe skines, hides and cal[f]skines, Irrishe fryses. This porte sarves when we have A Restrainte betweene Spaine and us.

Commodities retorned from thence.

Item, the comodities of this countrye is piche and Rossen, to be bowght best cheape, and fethers, the best in all Fraunce, Navarr Ieron, white Wynes of challose, to be laden against somer. Here also you must agree for your custome before you discharge. Comonly we paye three in the hondert.

All the sommer for Isse.

Item, for nerve and Rye[1] and Revell, all kindes of course clothes, corrupt wynes and conyskines, dressed and undressed, Salte and some aquavitye. Here take hede you trust none of the countrye with owte payinge reddy monnye, for they ar very false people and will denye bothe the bargaine and the Ressite of your wares yf yowe deliver it with owte monnye.

Comodities from thence.

Item, here wee lade flexe and hempe, piche and tarr, tallowe and wexe, and all kindes of Furrs. This place was usid before we had our trade with Sainte nicholas in Russie ; but our cables

[1] Riga.

and all our good ropes come from Danskes in Pollande, and also greate store of wheate and Rye, yf it be skante in england.

Item, for the wardehowse[1] we use a trade of Fyshinge, for the wiche you muste [put] into your shipp good store of salte, for every tone of salte will but preserve one thousande of fishe. This also all the sommer for Isse.

Item, for the fishinge of the owte Ilandes of skotland you must prepare your Shipp that she maye be redie to be there shortlie after sainte Jamestide, for the best of fyshinge of code and Linge is at mighellmas. You must lade for every thousand fishe a weye of salte or rather more. Begine not this viadge but after sainte James tide.

Item, of this trade of the owte Ilandes of Scotland and also for the northe of Ireland called Lawgfolie and Lowgsully, where the samone fyshinge is, yow shall sell all sortes of corrupt wynes. But you must take hede of the people, becawse they ar false and full of trechery. Therefore you must kepe good wache by night and be upon your owne kepinge. The comodities from hence be samon, code and linge.

Item, for Roane and murlace[2] and St. Mallowse, led is well sold, fyne white Denshire kersies and fyne newberry kerseys and hamshire kersyes, fyne clothes of all newe collors, stamell Redes and lustie gallantes, greate store of Tynne, all sortes of sheredes and hornes and northeren halfe clothe, so they be fyne and mingled collors. All the yeare in smale barckes of Lime.

Item, here at murlace and Roane we lade all our Lynine clothe, dowlas, Lockerame, Normandye canvas and all other canvas, and all other smale wares, as cordes, pines, pointes, Boltes of blacke threde and a nomber of other smale wares for mercers. This viadge ys to be made in 3 wekes yf winde and wether sarve. Comodities returned from thence.

Item, for Levante the best marchaundize is Led, very fyne clothes as pewkes, Skarlettes, newberry kersies and hamshire kersyes, hides and calf skynes (a small quantitie), drye neweland fyshe, pilchars and Red herringe, wrought tin. In any wyse your clothes must be the fynest you cane gett, for they esteme it before any velvett or other silkes. The most comone frequented places be Ligorne, mallyorca and mynorca and Barcelona, Sivita Veixa and venice. For Levante from mighelmas to aprill, for feare of gallies.

[1] Vardöhuus. [2] Morlaix (Brittany).

The comodities from thence.

Item, frome these places we have oyles of mayorca, when we have restraynte with Spayne, like wyse all kindes of silkes, gawles and cotton, muskatells of candye and malmseyes; Corraunts, allem, Sipers chestes, and divers other comodities; the fynest earthen disshes called purcelanes.

All the yeare in greate shippes.

Item, for Barbary, very fyne clothes, sade blewes, of xxx *li.* the clothe; and the Redd cappes for marriners; and all kinde of greate ordinaunce and other artellyrye; Ashe timber for Oares; Armory of all sortes; but yf the Spanyerdes take yowe trading with them you dye for it.

Comodities retorned from thence.

Item, owte of this contrye we Lade frome the porte of Santa cruse, barbery Sugers, bothe fyne and course; Salte peter, greate aboundance and the Best, also Dates, melasses and cuete;[1] barbary carpettes, cotton. You must have safe conndight for the gallyes, otherwyce the trade is dangerowse.

All the yeare accordinge to yowr advertice-mentes.

Item, for Sowthe Spaine, called andolozia, hides and cal[f] skines, fyne white kersyes, Redinge kersys and newberry kersyes, led and tyne, pipe staves and hoghed staves, coper and Bell mettell, fyne Holland clothe and cambricke. There must no course wares be brought hither. All kinde of virr plankes and mastes, clap borde.

Comodities retorned from thence.

Item, owte of this countrye wee have all our wynes called seckes, and all our wolle oyles and swete oyles, and the wynes called teyntes, hullocks; Resonnes of three or fower sortes, greate store of salte, quchinilla[2] and anyele[3] of the Indews, cordovan skines, shewmake,[4] and all sowinge silkes of all collors, in grayne or other wyse; Sivill sope. The custome here in sainte Lucars is 2 duckatts and halfe in the hondert and in cales[5] yt is 7 and 8 in the hundert.

Wheate all the winter.

Item, Lisborne in portingall: Butter, chese, fyne clothes of Bristowe and Somersettshire of the prise of xx^{tie} marckes the fynest, and theyr sortinge of Aeght poundes the clothe; and the[n] must these collors [be] sorted tene clothes in a packe to gether. You must have light skye collors to make lighte grenes, very

[1] Kute, i.e. new wine boiled down to a certain thickness and sweetened; used to put in other wines to make them keep longer (*New Engl. Dict.*).
[2] Cochineal. [3] Indigo dye. [4] Sumac. [5] Cadiz.

sadd blewes, fyne Redes and stamells, fyne Azars and fyne yallowes; Led and tinne; hides and cal[f] skines. Here yowe must take hede that you make your bargaine with your marchaunte, he to paye the custome, becawse it is xx^ti in the hondert.

Item, here hence we Lade some tinnes, oyles frome a place called santarene, Salte of portingall, Sope, callicowe clothe, all kinde of spices, Sinamone, cloves, masses and nuttmegs, peper great aboundance bothe greate and smale, yndews cobbard clothes called paintagos, and all other Indews wares whate soever that cometh frome the est yndews. Comodities from thence.

Item, for Bayona in galizia and for the porte of Portingall, the very same comodities that yowe use for Lisborne, saving onlye tymbye fryses that be made in Sowthe wales, both blacke and greye, lowe cottons; brigwaters, taunton halfe clothes, Bristowe frizes, fyne and sortinge; manchester cottons, halfe northeren clothe, wheate. At mighelmas and Easter beaus of the martes.

Item, owte of this place there is nothinge to lade but Orrendges, lemonns and greate ynnions that be xij or xiiij ynches abowte. They use this place to make monnye twyce a yeare, at mighellmas and ester, and the greatest byers be marchauntes of a towne called the porte of Portingall. Theyr custome is 3 in the hondert. From this place they transporte theyr monnyes for lisborne, andolozia and the ylandes to lade theyr shippes. Comodities from thence.

Item, for the yllandes of Sainte mighells and tercera, all kinde of course clothe called bridgwaters; all sortes of northeren halfe clothes, savinge manchester cottons; tawntone halfe clothes, made in Somersettshire; frizes of Bristowe and tymbye and Brecknockes of sowthe wales; wheate, all the wynter untill maye; Reding kersyes and a few cal[f]skines. Here they[r] custome is xx^ti in the hondert, as far as I cane remember. Here you shall sell nothinge for reddy monnye, but yowe must trucke your wares for grene woade. Wheate from Alhallontide untill Maye.

Item, in all the Ilandes there is no other marchandize to Lade but grene woade, where of here is greate abowndaunce; some allem of the ylande and sydar chestes; like wyce pikero[1] and Lancerota and viall[2]—theyr trade standes upon woade Comodities from thence.

[1] Pico. [2] Fayal.

and the same englishe comodities that sarvethe for the one, sarvethe for the other.

All the sommer for sugars and wines.

Item, for the Ilandes of the canaryas and matheras, drye newland fishe, pilchars of englande and pilchars of Galicia; led and Red herringes; all kindes of course clothe, only excepted manchester cottons, as yow use to bringe to the Ilandes of the Assores. These Ilandes muste be used all the somer, for in the wynter the stormes ar so greate that there [are] no harbors for shippinge.

All the sommer for sugars and wines.

Item, here we use to Lade mathero wynes, called whit malmseyes and Bethonyas and wynes of the canaryes, but the matheros in[1] the more milder wyne. And this yland called the matherose we lade the Best Sugars and the fynest made and refyned in the Iland. Their cowstome is a[s] muche as it is in the other Ilandes.

All the sommer for avoidinge of Isse.

Item, for Sainte nicholas in Russye all wynes that is corrupte, and Resnes[2] wynes of spaine, fraunce and of the ylands, and all swete wines that ar corrupt; with the wiche they use to by manye tones of Sidar, puting in to yt three or fower gallons of Bastard; they will also be sold for wyns. Salt is here good marchaundize, and our course Suff[olk] clothes.

Comodities from thence.

Item, from this cowntrye we Lade the greatest quantatye of Wexe, becawse they have greate abowndaunce, so muche as they ar able to sarve england and Flawnders; and greate store of stages skines and skines and hides of Buffano, the best in christendom and the greatest Quantitie; all sortes of Riche furres.

All the yeare accordinge to your advertice-mentes.

Item, for Bilbao in Biskaye hides and cal[f] skines in greate bowndance be here dispached, and Somersettshire clothes of a towne called Sheptone mallet, who clothe with the wolles of the Isle of wight. In every tene clothes you muste have ij light popengaye grenes, ij light violettes, ij light skye collers, ij azars and ij Blewes, and some fyne stamell Reddes; in grayene, Bridgwaters and tawton halfe clothes; led and tinne. The like for Saint Sebastians in Byskaye, savinge the clothes must be sad grenes, sadd violettes, sadd blewes, theyr listes

[1] *Sic*: is. [2] Gras reads Refues.

kept blewe (all these muste be fyne clothes), fyne lustye gallantes and fyne stamell reds.

Item, from these twoe portes we Lade Ierone of the best sorte in all Spayne, whale oyles that come from newfound Land, piche and Rossome, fyne Serches, Bugg[1] of Tolosa in Navar, and Rendrye Ierone and navar Ierone, greate store of Lickerishe, crosbowes, sworde Blades. Frome hence we convey all our monnyes, bothe silver and gold, in to Fraunce for the lading of our shippes in Burdeous; for the wiche we Rone greate and dangerows adventures. Theyr customes is called a alcavala, that is, x in the hondert. Then they have sixe in the hondert. Comodities from thence.

Item, for Burdows in gaskoine blacke, Bristowe frizes and medleye fryses, some fyne and some sortinge, that ar to be bought for 30 shillings a peace, and the fyne at seven nobles; also led and manchester cottons, and some of your courser sort of Bristowe clothes. But for this place you muste devise to have all the newe collors that you cane fynde in england, for those ar sonnest monnye. All sortes of cast Ierone peaces. But here, dowtting that they shall not sell, there fore our marchawntes transporte greate store of our englishe gold over, frenche gold and portingall gold and spaineshe gold of best and those that be weight. At mighelmas and Easter because of the two free faires.

Item, frome thes place we Lade all our right gaskone wynes, white clarett and Redd, and tallowse, woade; yf you will by 100 Balletts of woad together, they will assewre it to be good, but yf you by under you shall bye it at your owne adventure; here also we by smale pruens and damaske pruens, and fethers and divers other comodities; and for the bennefyt of the marchaunts you have ij fayers in the yeare that yowe be free of all custome bothe inwardes and outwardes; the one beginethe in marche and the other in October. Comodities from thence.

Item, for the trade of Rochell, al englyshe comodities, as led, tinne, hides, cal[f] skines, tallowe, clothe fyne and course, salte, Irrishe hides, bristow frizes and tymbye fryses; any kinde of victualls, wheat only except becawse they have greate store All the yeare in greate shippes for feare of pirattes.

[1] Budge, or lamb's skin with the wool dressed outwards (*New Engl. Dict.*)

of theyr owne. Here you maye sell all sortes of greate and smale ordinance, all sortes of newe collored clothes.

Comodities from thence.

Item, here you shall bye greate store of salte, poldavise,[1] piche and tarr, divers other kinde of marchaundize; for here all the pirates of Fraunce doe discharge. Here you shall have manye thinges of the Indews of portingall, Better cheape then in portingall. But you muste take hede yowe goe thether in a good shippe, or ells yowe ar like to be Robbed by the waye, ether outwardes or homewardes.

Also withe greate shipps.

Item, for the trade of the west Indews belonginge to spaine, all these wares Following ar very good: oyles ar very well sold, especially Swete oyle; lookinge glasses of christall and others; knyfes of all sortes very well sold; taylors sheres and Sissars for barbors; linine clothe of Divers sort, dowlas, lockerame, hollandes; some Quantitie of wyne, but yt must be singular good; also pines, pointes and suche other like smale wares. He that goethe one this viadge muste be very carefull of their olde Ennemyes, the Spainerdes, otherwyse they maye be taken upon assudaine.

Comodities from thence.

Item, from this countrye is greate Riches to be had of gold, and Silver, and very Riche pearells, very Orient and very Bigg withal. Here the Spanyerdes have a mynte howse, called the castell of mexico, where they stampp all the rialls of plate of the pillars, wiche is the fynest silver of all, and here they stampp all their silver that is Refyned in to barrs, wherewith they knowe it is parfett, good and of the beste sorte. The rialls of plate that is quened at mexico, I have sene in spaine, the popes factors for the collection of his monye in that kingdome they will give one or twoe in the hondert to change the other rialls of plate for these.

This viadge also muste be used withe greate shippe.

Also for the trade of Brasile, most of the wares that sarvethe for the West Indews will sarve there, and also some of our course clothes we maye sell here, in trucke of Course sugers and mellasos and kute, that we us[e] in england and flawnders for divers purposes. Here you have the best Brasill and blocke wood, otherwyse called campeche.

[1] A coarse canvas used for sailcloth.

Item, in this cowntrie we Lade homwardes sugars, melasses, and cutes, and Brasill and blockewood, wiche we use in england for some of our collors. But this blocke wood makethe a very desietfull, vadinge collor, and therefore not estemed and is almost fallen owt of request. Comodities from thence.

Item, yf yowe will trade the West partes of Ireland, your best comodyties is Seckes of andolozia and Gaskone wines; a litell woade, some Allem, but not greate Quantitie, some rawe silke of divers collers and some Brasill; but of wynes you shall dispache greate store; And they will complye their bargaines very well, and ar men of more Sivillitie then those of the northe parts. The places of the weste of Irland for seckes and gasconie wines.

Item, for [*sic*] hence we lade in our shippinge greate store of Salte hides, tallowe, Salte Beffe in hoghedes, Irishe coverlettes, mantells and greate store of Irishe frises (bothe highe cottons and lowe cottons), linine yarone, and heringe and Salte samon, when time of the yeare sarveth; all wich we transporte ether to Rochell or newhaven and Roane and some times in to Flaunders. Comodities from thence.

Item, in this trade of Ireland the Frenche, Spanierde and Skott usithe greate villanye, for in time of peace they furnyshe all those cowntryes and people, that is ylle affected towardes her maiestie, they furnishe them wythe calivers, powder and shotte, wiche they sell for the said salt hides. They also farnishe them with matche or any thinge ells that is nedefull for the Warrs; the wiche your honor maye nowe prevent, cawsing the Serchors there to serche every shipp that shall there arive, putting a forfeyture upon the shipp and goodes. The abuses of the frenche, Spanierd and skott.

And here, yf I might specke my knowledge under corection, I would all wayes have her maiestie to maynteyne a gallye in the northe partes of Ireland for the stoppinge of the intercourse of the Scottes, wiche would be furnished in short time with the condempned men in england and Ireland, with the wiche you shall kepe those partes quyett. In these placis it is most nedefull to have always a gally.

Item, take this for a gennerall Rule in all kinde of marchaundize, that yt is not Sufficient for yow to knowe all this, unles you Allwayes doe procuer to have adverticementes owt of all placis; otherwyse you may be prevented by other men ether before or After. And commonlye there can be nothinge The hole trade of the marchaunte standith upon diligent adverticements.

well sold when you shalbe bounde to lade the same shipp backe againe within xxv or thirttie dayes. Therefore, when you thincke to gaine, you lose. Therefore adverticement is good and the principall thinge that belongethe to A Merchaunte.

The trade sarvethe to this place all the yeare.

Item, for our trade to Flawnders, Hemden and Hamborghe, the marchawnt adventurers lade our woolles and clothes unwroght in greate abowndaunce, becawse theyr woolles beinge of so course a staple that it will not ronne in threde unles they mingle our woolles withall; also greate store of our englishe bere is here uttered, bothe in time of peace and warrs. From hence we use to lade all kinde of smale wares for grocers, and greate store of hopes, holland clothe, all other wares made of coper and brasse and many other thinges.

This viadge must be used from mighelmas untill Easter for fere of the Mores gallies.

The marchandize that they transporte for trypola de Surria that is most usuall is Newberry and Redinge kersyes of all sortes and all collors; also they use some very fyne clothes of highe prises, of fortie or fyftie poundes the clothe; very muche tyne, wroght and unwroght; some Ledde, whiche they sell by the waye in many portes.

The comodities from thence.

Item, the comodities that they bringe from tripola de Surria: they use to lade there greate store of corrawnts, good store of gales, and very muche cottons, wiche we call in england bombaste, also sweete oyle of grece, and divers other thinges.

The prices of all the spannishe wares comonlie used to be laden:[1] woode, the houndrethe, 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; Ierone, the tone 12 *li.*; Fethers the hondert 1 *li.* 8 *s.*; Oyle, the tone, 28 *li.*; Traine, the tone, 14 *li.*; Rendrye Ierone, the tone, 10 *li.*; Wett newland fishe, the C, 1 *li.*; Drye fishe, the honderte, 10 *s.*; Lyver traine of fishe, the ton, 9 *li.*; Romishe allem, the C, 1 *li.* 8 *s.*; Shewmake, the C, 13 *s.*; Gaskone wynes, the tone, 12 *li.*; Nants wynes, the tone, 11 *li.*; Rochell wynes, the tone, 8 *li.*; Pruens, the honderte, 14 *s.*; Tollows woade, the ballett, 2 *li.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; Polldavis, the peace, 2 *li.* 3 *s.*; Salt, the tone, 1 *li.* 10 *s.*; Spanishe salte, 2 *li.*; White sope, the hondert, 2 *li.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; Lickerishe, the houndert, 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; Tollosa bugge, the dossen, 6 *s.*; Serches of Byskey, the pese 2 *s.* 6 *d.*;

[1] These lists are arranged in columns in the original.

Pepper, the hondert, 14 *li*; Sugarr, the hondert, 13 *li.* 8 *s.*; Kwchaniella, the hondert, 74 *li.* 13 *s.*; Mases, the hondert, 60 *li*; Cloves, the hondert, 44 *li.* 16 *s*; Nuttmedge, the hondert, 44 *li.* 16 *s.*; Sinnamone, the hondert 30 *li.*; Ginger, the hondert, 18 *li.* 13 *s.*

The prises of all the englishe wares comonlie used to be laden owte of england: Bristowe sortinge clothes, the peace, 9 *li.*; Fyne clothes, the peace, 13 *li.*; Bridgwaters, the peace, 2 *li.*; Manchester cottons, the skore, 18 *li.*; Course northeren dossen 1 *li.* 6 *s.*; Fyne northeren dossens, the pece, 3 *li.*; Brecknockes, the peace, 2 *li.* 6*s.*; Tymbye frisses, the peace, 2 *li.*; Highe cottone Frises, the peace, 1 *li.* 18 *s.*; Ledd, the tone, 8 *li.* 10 *s.*; Tyne, the hondert weight, 3 *li.*; Tyne wrought, the pounde, 10 *d.*; Butter, the barrell, 2 *li.*; The kinderkine of Butter, 1 *li.*; The weye of wheate 4 *li.* 13 *s.*; Bell mettell, the hondrett 1 *li.* 8 *s.*; Tallowe, the hondert, 1 *li.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*; Tawnton halfe clothes, the pese 9 *li.* 10 *s.*; Devonshire kersye, the coursses[t] 1 *li.* 10 *s.*; white cottons, the pease 1 *li.*; Pilchars, the hoghed, 1 *li.*; Drye hake, the hondert, 1 *li.* 10 *s.*; Candells, the hondert weight, 1 *li.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*; Irrishe frise, the hondert yardes 4 *li.*; Pipe staves, the thowsande, 2 *li.* 5 *s.*; Hoghed staves, the thowsande, 1 *li.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*; Caste Ierone peaces, the C, 14 *s.*; Wexe, the hondreth weight, 5 *li.*; Listes, the hondreth yards, 8 *s.* 4 *d.*; A kinde of white lininge of i dossen yardes the pease, 1 *li.* 10 *s.*; smythe coles, the ton, 6 *s.*

Item, these and all other wares doe Ryse and fall accordinge to the time, as for example Salte, beinge worthe but 1 *li.* 10 *s.* the tone and fortye shillings continually, is nowe worthe sixe pounds the ton, and so yt is with all other marchaundize.

Item, lingavitye, the C, ij *li.* vj *s.* 8 *d.* Item, ginger the C, 4 *li.* 10 *s.* Item, hides of sant domingos. Item, Rubyes of the indewes, as they be of bignes, their prises highe or lowe. Item, saxipage the C, 45 *li.*, Sometimes fower times as muche.

And because that wieght and mesure doth differ in many realmes and in manye places of one realme, the first thinge that a marchante or factor dowth, after his cominge to any towne of trade, to informe himesealfe of their weights and mesures, and so like wise of the cowstomes and all other dewties, or wether the

same is to be charged upon the byer or the seller, aswell owtwards as inwards. This being done, he may rise or fall his price accordinglye, and void many inconveniences, wiche the unskillfull fall in to and afterwards cannot remedye; and with all you muste take hede of Bringinge to a straunger countrye the thinges that is prohibited, and circimspectly deale with suche things as are prohibited to carye owt, for by this manye are undone by the officir called the Judge of . . .[1]

9. LEAKE'S TREATISE ON THE CLOTH INDUSTRY, WITH PROPOSALS FOR THE REFORM OF ABUSES, 1577.

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CXL, No. 38.]

What is the Antiquitie or begening of Clothing made in England, and when came the same to perfection?

The answere.

1. It appeareth by the Statute made 2. Ed. 3. Cap. 14. that in those dayes the Clothe that was soulde in this Realme came out of forraine places, which Clothe then vsed to be brought in did not conteyne the lengthes and breadthes accustomed. For redresse whereof it was enacted that in every porte the king shoulde haue his Alneger, whose office was to measure those Clothes brought in, in the presence of the chief Officer of the Porte; and those that weare defective weare forfeite to the king. Whearevppon I gather that in this tyme wee had no brode Clothe made in England.

2. And the better to confirme the premisses, it appeareth shortlie after that woolles was first restrained to be transported, and forreyn Clothe prohibited vppon forfeiture, and the wearing thereof was also forbidden by the Statute[s] made 11. E. 3. Cap. 1. 2. 3.

3. Also the same tyme Libertie was given to Straungers of what Nation soeuer, that woulde come and make Clothe in England, to dwell freelie as Subiectes. And this I suppose was the first originall of free denizons in England, and am induced

[1] Here the MS. is cut off close.

so to thinke bicause I fynde no Statute lawe concerning theim at any tyme before, nor long tyme after. This appeareth also 11. E. 3. Cap. 5°.

4. And the better to confirme the premisses, appeareth afterwardes by sondry Statutes that skill was not suche to serve the Realme, and therefore necessitie forced libertie to be given, althoughe vnder a cullour of avoiding thextremitie of the Alnager, whoe forfeited forreyn Clothe brought in not conteyning breadthes and lengthes then vsed; so that, to obteyne Licence for the same to be brought over as before, the Subiectes of the Realme in recompence gaue to the king a Subsedie, as more plainly shall appeare in the 5th Article. And so forreigne Clothe remained vnprohibited till Clothing was well increased bothe in London and in dyvers other places in England; after which tyme it was banished vtterly againe and never since permitted to be brought in, vppon forfeicture. This last banishment is shewed by a Statute made 4. Ed. 4. Cap. 1°.

5. Also I gather further by one Gregoryne,[1] who painefullie hathe collected the Antiquities and priviledges of the lowe Contries together, and by other flemish Cronicles, that in those tymes manie goodly Townes in Flaunders and thereaboutes weare only mainteyned by Clothing, which, after the same grewe to perfection in England, they weare compelled to devise other Trades for their maintynaunce.

6. And here I note that in those dayes, and of late yeares also, there was diuers sortes of Clothe then made which is nowe out of vse, for tyme hathe brought further experience and other sortes in the place; as for example, about the 20 of H. 8. began the first spinning on the distaffe and making of Coxall Clothes, and aboute the same tyme began Devonshire dossens, which nowe is a merveillous greate commoditie. Theis Coxall Clothes weare first taught by one Bonuise, an Italian, but no vniforme order was any weare observed vntill the making of the Statute 5. Ed. 6.,[2] by which Statute every Contry in England by their owne consente yelded to certein bondes limitted bothe for weight, lengthe and breadthe, and what cullours shoulde be made and

[1] *Sic*, presumably Guicciardini. [2] Ed. VI., c. 6.

soulde; which Statute was made vppon great aduice and consideracion for the vniversall benifite of the common wealth. And after in whatsoeuer the Clothier founde him self greved, and whatsoeuer inconvenience was founde and proued, by another Statute was reformed or quallified, as appeareth 4. et. 5. Phi. and Mary Cap. 5., and euer since hathe stoode without contradiction of any.

7. Sithence which tyme, by reason of the trobles growen in other Contries, the making of Baies, friesadowes, Tuftmoccadowe, and many other thinges made of wull, is mightelie increased in England, which by Statute lawes is not yet ordered and sett downe. But for this Cause wee ought to fauour the Straungers from whome wee learned so greate benifites, as before is declared, because wee are not so good devisers as followers of others.

8. And further, I gather by the olde Statutes that litle Clothe was vented into forraine Nations before the tyme of E. 4., and all that was made went with the woolles to the Staple of Callice, and there continewed till the marchauntes of Clothe and marchauntes of the Staple began to contend; whearevppon the marchantes Adventurers procured the first Corporacion for the lowe Contries, and went to Brudges in Flaunders, as appeareth by Recorde in the Exchequyer 1. H. 7. And also I note further that at this tyme there was litle or no Clothe vented into other places; for in those dayes trades and traffiques weare not knowne as nowe they are, and yet dailie will increase by further experience. And thus I ende the first pointe, bothe for the antiquitie and for the perfection.

What are the Causes, whie wee haue so muche false Clothe made in England, and in what poinctes doe the Clothiers moste principally offend?

The Answeare.

1. The chief Cause of false Clothe and cullours is want of execution of oure good lawes, and bearing to much with thoffendours; whearin I will not onlie accuse the Clothier, but those that shoulde see to it, togethers with the merchauntes and the

Retaylers; for doutles the Clothyer according to his markettes dothe frame him selfe, and he maketh suche stuffe and cullours as the merchaunts and Retaillers doe requyre; and therfore I will not altogether blame him and leave theim vntouched in tyme convenient. But yet in this place I will first shewe in what the Clothier dothe principallie offend in.

2. Firste, the greater parte of them will not allowe the weight that the lawe requirethe, for wante wherof ther is not that substaunce that is appointed, nether in length nor breadth; some lacke xij, xiiij$^{li.}$ and more.

[3.] Nexte, they stretche and strayne without conscience, not only to make them conteine the lengthes that is appointed, but longer by iij, iiij or v yardes; and this is an abhominable falshood. And euen as they deale in lenght, so do they in breadth allso.

3 [i.e. 4]. And here note the great allowance allredy graunted by the statute of 5. E. 6., in the which euery Clothier may straine a yard in length and di. of a yard in breadth, which might suffice any reasonable persons, if ether the lawes of nature, politicke, or of god were in them; but greedines of gayne maketh the honestest of them Corrupte in this behalfe.

5. As for example, Rolfe and Wyncoll of Suffolke, Clothiers, do beare the bell, and the reason is they commonly putt in all the stuffe that the Lawe requireth. But what then? Be they voyde of stretchinge and streyninge? No, not so; they offend allmost as muche as the worste; for wher the stuffe appoynted in truthe will not make a clothe to Contayne above the vsuall breadth of vj quarters di., and in lengthe not above xxiij, xxiiij or xxv^{tie} yardes at the most wett, they Commonly sett those Clothes and force to hold drye xxviij, xxix^{ty} or better. But whither this poynte may stande with the iustice of god or the world, or not, I referre my selfe to the iudgement of the wise. And in breadth they hold vij quarters and better.

6. Well, saith the Clothier, the merchaunte must haue great lengthes, or he will not buye; if I sell not, I must putt of my spinners and workefolkes, and then what Common wealthe will this be? Many perills be at hande, etc., and some merchaunte alledgeth Custome that some Countries will haue them so, etc. To whom I answere, god is the defendour, preseruer and keeper

of Iustice; Lewde Custome ought not to prevaile; the rest I leave to the discreete to iudge of. But I thinke good lawes made for the benefitte and honour of the lande wold not thus be defrauded for the Covetous gaine of any merchaunte, wherby sclaunder and perill may arise to the state. And sure I am, no man may retaile any Englishe Clothe in Spayne, vnless he first shrincke the same.

7. Allso, in dyinge of wooles for Colours, what fallshood they haue achieved vnto I leave not [?unto] the expert to declare, but euery person may plainely see what preiudice these three thinges doth bringe to the realme with dishonour in forraigne nations to our prince; and what inconvenience, if reformation be not had, will ensue, I leaue to grauer iudgmentes; only in these three thinges I wishe speciall reformation in the Clothiers.

8. Concerninge vnevennesse of the clothe and cockle and bande, those proceede by reason of missortinge of woolles of Contrarye natures and vnequall spinnynge, one harder then another; and also holes in Clothe proceede of the abuse of the millman in thickeninge; but these faultes happen most commonlye against the will of the Clothier. Therfore reforme the deceipte of suche as allowe not the waighte, and of suche as vse stretchinge and strayninge and makinge of false collours, and no doubte the Commoditye throughe the world wilbe had in great estimation, with great honour to the Prince and securitye of the State.

9. Flockes, Chalke, and other false oyntementes cast vppon clothe is specially vsed in the Northe partes, wher no true clothes are made. And this is the principall poyntes in the which the Clothier doth offende.

10. Here me thinkes I heare a Clothier saye: Sir, it is impossible to obserue the lawe. To whom I answere, the lawe was made, as appeareth by the preamble of the statute, by the consent of divers Clothiers, Drapers, Merchauntes, Taylors, Clotheworkers, Shermen and other artificers to whom it apperteined, and those were examined by certaine wise, discrete and sage knightes and Burgesses, by whose declaration, agreement and advise it was enacted to remayne firme and perfecte foreuer, notwithstandinge any suggestions to be made by any Clothier or Clothmaker to the contrarie, as they had in like cases heretofore

done; and therefore you ought to be punished for sclaunder and evill reportinge of the lawes of the lande.

11. And yet did the parliament, after this acte made vppon so great advise, most graciouslye heare your allegations againe, and mitigated the same accordinge to your owne desires in all poyntes that yourselues could reasonablye require, as appeareth by an other acte made 4. and 5. of Phi. and M. So that you haue no manner of excuse, except it be meete to heare condempned persons after so honorable Iudgement. And therfore, for the Clothier, I wishe he may be constreyned to performe the waight, to leaue stretchinge and streyninge, and to make good colloures, accordinge to the lawe as I haue before said, affirminge further that ther is not one poore man mainteyned by any of the said craftes and deceiptes, but contrariewise thousandes loste therby.

12. Howe mightely trades haue increased within C°. yeares in Europe is easely to be conceaved, markinge howe muche riches hath growen amongest vs by reason of the Portugalle and Spanishe discoveryes of the East and West Indians. Wherby I note for example to what incredible riches the towne of Antwerpe came in 70 yeares and lesse is apparante. For, as the said Gogardyne[1] sheweth, in Anno 1505 the same was a poore fisher towne; at which tyme the kinge of Portugall began his staple ther; and after in 1516 the Englishe merchauntes first came from Bridges to Antwerpe; in which place, speciallye since the tyme of the raigne of Charles the first, we haue had wonderfull vente of our Commodityes; and no doubt great ventes dailye wilbe had of the same in other places, both into Muscovia, Persia, and by the newe attempte of the Northwest voyage by Martine Furbusher, and into other sondrie places. All which, althought it be somewhat out of the matter, I thought good to note, wishinge therfore that our Commodityes might be trulye made, wherby it may be kept in estimacion, seinge it is the most precious Iewell of all Europe, wherof will ensue great honour to the prince, securitye to the state, and richesse to our Countrye. And so I ende that poynte.

[1] *Sic*, ? Guicciardini.

Wher and in what Countryes and places is false Clothe most vsed to be made?

The Answere.

1. First for Colours, Kente is most infected, but not for stretchinge, and Suffolke for Barberye blewes is equall or worse; the towne of Readinge in Barkshyre doth followe, and all the coulored Clothes made in the Northe is worst of all; Bridgewaters are not to be praysed, nor diuerse colours dyed in London or ells where.

2. And, especiallye for streatchinge and strayninge, Suffolke, Readinge, all the Northe partes, bridgewaters, Tawton and Charge Clothes are greatlye abused, and Hampshiere Kerseys be in like manner; and generallye wheresoeuer the Clothier doth dresse Clothe at home before he sell it, ther do they most stretche and straine abhominablye, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 yardes in a Clothe, in lengthe and breadthe.

3. The best Clothiers for credite sake alloweth waighte; but, seinge the common vse, theie streatche and strayne as muche in effecte as the worste; by reason wherof their Clothes Commonlye conteine greater lengthes by ij, iij, iiij and v yardes a clothe then the lawe requirethe, and therfore are they called the best sortes. So that none of them do keepe within the bondes that are limitede, and I am fullye of opinion that, for all Colored Clothes dressed and dyed within this realme, and generallye for all other Clothe, the lawes were never yet observed in any one place with in the Realme.

4. In Kerseyes, Cottons, Freyseies, and other course clothe, the like deceipte is vsed; as for an example, those freeseys that ought to conteine xlviij$^{li.}$ in waight do not conteine above xxxiiij^{tye}, and yet do they keepe nere to the lenghtes and breadthes aforesaid. And therfore I conclude that these deceiptes vsed by the makers is the Cause whye our Commodityes are the lesse sett by in forraine nations, and that other thinges are worne in the place of Cloth; which is hurtfull to our Common Wealthe as aforesaid.

Wher is the most parte of the false Cloth sold and vttered?

1. The trewest Clothe that is made with in this Realme is all sortes of fyne Clothe, speciallye suche as be brought to the markettes vndressed. And the reason is that those Clothes be eyther transported into the lowe Countries, and dressed ther, or ells are sold to the Drapers of London, and other retaylours, who see the wettinge and dressinge of them. For it is certaine that nether any of the Merchauntes nor retaylours that buye of vs in Flaunders, nor yet the retailers at home, will Commonlye make any paymentes or giue their billes before they haue layde them in the water, and provede and pervsed their faultes, and made abatements (if any suche be founde) to the vttermoste.

2. And therfore for sortes Gloucester, Somersett, and willshyre whites, and also longe worcesters, togethers with Kentishe Clothe and generally all other sortes of fyne Clothes sold vndressed, are litle or nothinge stretched or strayned. And these buyers I best Commende.

3. But the buyers of those Clothes so misvsed are the merchantes that do traffique within the sounde of Denmarke, viz. to Danske, the Narue and two other places in Polande, Lyefland, Fenmarke, Swethlande, Norwaye, Moscouia, Spayne, Portugal, Barbarye, and to other places with in the Mediterraneum Sea, and generally into all those places wher the vse of dressinge of Clothe is not greatlye experimented. Those, therfore, I saye that do buye of vs and truste our dealinge are miserablie deceaved. This is an vniuste acte of our Clothiers and Merchauntes, and can nether be answered before god nor the world.

4. The retailours at home may not remayne vnspoken of; for theie procure the Clothmaker to stretche and straine both in length and breadthe in manner as muche as the Clothier doth, so that as well the nobilitye as all other sortes of men are therin greatlye abused and deceaued in measure, because these clothes that be so stretched and strayned, when they be come to be wett againe, they shrinke and go in as to their former estate.

5. All other sortes of lowe prised Clothes, as Northen Clothe of

all sortes and Kerseys and Cottons, freyse, etc., will not hold their Contentes beinge wette; which sortes of Clothe commonlye the retaylers do not shrincke, which is contrarye to the lawe. But if they dyd, it wold not onlye prove more profitable to themselues, but generally to all buyers therof, and also wold greatlye reliefe the poore Clothworkers of London, which crye out and exclaime for wante of worke; and by this meanes it were easye for the retayler to helpe them muche, as after shalbe shewed, and allso to reforme the fallshood of the Clothier.

6. And herwith all I may not forgett the multitude of false collours of Clothe retailed with in the lande, as variable in Colour as the skye, which deceipte they haue bene and be the only procurers and mainteiners of; and the same by them might easely be reformed, because the lawe hath certainely sett downe vnto them howe many colours shalbe sold and the rest are forfaite. This wold drawe deape if extremity were vsed.

7. The Merchauntes of Barbery ought allso to be remembred; for what inconvenience is like to happen by their procuringe of false Collours to be made is euidentlye knowen amongst them selues, by which our falshood is abhorred amongest Infidelitye, and our Christ and Christianitye blasphemed, and therfore our Commodityes likely to be banished; the doinge wherof Kente may bewaile, and Suffolke and other places haue no Cause to reioyce. For herby a great number of poore people are like to lose their lyuinges, the Commoditye shall stand and lacke vente, the Prince is dishonored for wante of reformation, and the revenewe of the Crowne by this meanes is abated, besydes the hindraunce of the navigation and many other thinge vnremembred.

8. For all which causes I wishe as before that truthe might be founde in all our Dealinges, and then no doubte god will prosper all the workes of our handes; for whatsoeuer may not stande with a good conscience we ought to abhorre. And wher a fewe mens private gaynes doth hurte a multitude we ought to eschewe it.

Whervpon grewe the Alnager at the ferst, of what antiquitye is it, and what good do they at this daye and the Searchers and sealers in Townes?

The Answere.

1. It appeareth by the statute made in the 2 E. 3. Chap. 14 that forraine Cloth brought into the realme did not Conteyne their lengthes and breadthes, and therfore it was ordered that in euery porte the kinge should haue his Alnager, who in the presence of the Chiefe officer should measure all forraine Clothe, and those that were founde faultye should be forfeyted to the kinge. This therfore I take to be the ofspringe of the Alnager.

2. Then after, when Cloth began to increase in England, it was ordered that the kinge shold appointe Alnagers to euery towne, and suche as was forfeite they ought to bringe into the Wardrope, and diverse forfeytures was layde vppon them for not executinge their office by a Statute made 27 k. E. 3. Cap. 1.

3. But when experience taught that this [*sic*] was not sufficiente Clothe made with in the Realme to serue the same, as ther is shewed in the first article, then did the subiectes shewe vnto the kinge that the penaltye of forfeyture of forreyne Cloth might be taken awaye, and in respecte therof the parliament gave vnto the kinge a subsidye, viz.: of euery graine Cloth vj *d.*, di. graine v *d.* and without graine iiij *d.*; which subsidye seemes by the wordes aswell to lye vppon all Cloth made within the realme as without. Howe this subsidye is nowe Collected, and what authoritye the Alnagers [have] accordinge to the graunt, I see not; but I do thinke her Maiestie doth lose a great somme of money therin. This poynte I can go not further in, because I am not skillfull in Allnagers patentes, and I haue made no searche in it, because I do not see wherin to benifitte excepte I might haue some rewarde to fynde ther farmes voyde, which is given by no statute lawe. This subsidye is giuen by a Statute made 27 k. E. 3. Cap. 4.

4. Trewe it is, I vnderstande, by a statute made 4 H. 4. Cap. 24, that the kinges Alnager might be farmed by consent of the Lord Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer; but whither the subsidie be Alnage and may be so or not is a question, and the

wordes onlye of the Statute speaketh of the Alnage, and not of the subsidye. The Fees of the Alnager is but ob. vppon a Clothe, and that is giuen by the said statute of 27 k. E. 3. Cap. 4.

5. Allso I finde by diuerse statutes great pennaltyes layd vppon these Alnagers for not executinge of their dutyes, and that they ought to put no seale to any Clothe excepte the owner hath first fixed to his owne seale, Conteyninge a iuste Contente of the same Clothe shalbe founde in the water, vppon forfeiture of his office; and this is giuen by the statute of 27 H. 8. Cap. 12. If this statute be laide to their Charge, then is ther not one of them that hath any good estate at all, but all is determined a thousande tymes past at the least.

6. Searchers in Townes, those began but lately, and they are to be appointed by hed officers and Iustices of the Countries, and are yearly to be sworne; and suche forfeite Cloth as they finde, theie are to haue the moytie and the kinge the other; and diverse other things is putt downe A°. 3 E. 6. Cap. 2, but this was neuer executed since the makinge.

7. After this came the speciall statute aforesaid of 5 E. 6 that euer was made or can be made for clothinge, which giues further authoritye to officers in Townes concerninge seale and searche of Clothe, commaundinge that they shold yearely appoint sufficient, fitt and hable men, and Enactes that if these searchers do allowe any insufficient clothe, then shall the magistrate that appointed them forfeite the valewe. See that statute of Quinto of Edwarde the sixte.

8. The like poyntes and larger for Searchers and sealers in Townes and Corporations are given by the statute of qualification which was made 4 and 5 of Ph. and Mary Cap. 5.

9. So that I conclude better lawes in these points cannot be made, onlye ther wantes execucion. For wante wherof both Clothier, Alnager, Searchers, Merchauntes and retaylers of clothe be growen into suche securitye that the lawe is forgotten, and theie do what they liste; or at the least, if any Common person stirre therin, immediately theie flocke so together in Companyes with out Cryes and exclamations that no man hath dealt with them, and in very deede verie fewe haue skill therin.

10. The Magistrates also, perceavinge what multitudes of

poore do hange vppon them, haue muche favoured the matter, that therby all the falshoodes aforesaid hitherto hath bene couered as it were vnder a bushell. But I say, as it is reason to do them good with well doinge, so it is reason to punishe them in vsinge of the falshoodes aforesaide.

What necessarie lawes haue we against the Clothier, Alnager, Merchaunte and retaylour which you suppose are requisite to put in execucion?

The Answeare.

1. First for the Clothier, this arte of stretchinge and strayninge was prohibited by the statute made A°. 1 R. 3. Cap. 8, and also by the statute 3 E. 6. Cap. 2, and by the statute of 5 E. 6. Cap. 6; which said statute gaue a tolleration that they might streatche a yarde in lengthe and half a quarter in breadthe. This was a great allowance, and suche as offende or cause the same forfeites for every offence v*li.*

2. Allso wrenche, rope and ringe, and other devises to stretche or straine, is vtterlye prohibited, so that who soeuer keepeth or vseth any of them forfaites xx*li.* This is geuen by the said statute of primo R. 3 and E. 6, and those Tayntors ought to stande in open places and not in streates Corners, as appeareth by the said statute 1 R. 3.

3. Allso the Clothier oughte to put his seale to euery Clothe by him made, conteyninge the iuste lengthe that the clothe conteineth in the water as it is sett downe, vppon payne of forfeiture therof. This appeareth by the statute of 27 H. 8. Cap. 12.

4. Moreouer, for the honour of the realme, to euerye true Clothe made accordinge to the lawe, the clothier ought to weaue and put into euery clothe the token of the Crowne Imperiall of this lande, with the first lettre of the Kinges name, vppon paine of xx *s.* a clothe. And this is geuen by the statute of 5 E. 6. and 4. 5 Phi. and M.

5. As for the Alnager, I haue before in the last article sufficiently touched, together with the searchers, who at this daye, as theie vse it, do no manner of good in the Common Wealth;

against whom both merchaunte and Clothier and retayler will testifye; and yet are their offices necessarie, if the men were skillfull and kould vse it. And doubtelesse I thinke it a thinge verie sclaunderous vnto the Queenes Maiestie to haue her seale to any faultye Cloth, and so thought the Parliament in 5. E. 6. And further I see no cause but flatte extortion for them to Collecte moneye by Coloure of office without doinge of their dutie. But this I referre to wise heades.

6. As for the Merchaunte, I finde a notable lawe made in the said statute 1 R. 3. Cap. 8, which is that they shall not sende nor conveye any wollen Clothe ouer the seas vnlesse the same Cloth be before fully watered, and after that it shall in no wise be sett or drawen in length nor bredth, vppon paine of fortye shillinges for euery cloth. Graunte vnto this statute th'allowance sett dowen by the statute of 5. E. 6. and vrge the Merchaunte thervnto, and litle false Clothe wilbe made. But if any deale herin, Complainte will immediatelye arise, and exclamation without measure, excepte the Cause be first well vnderstoode.

7. And lastly, for the retayler, I finde by the same statute that they ought to retaile no wollen Clothe nor lyninge excepte it be fullye watered before, and after it may not be sett nor drawen in lengthe nor breadthe, vppon payne of forfeiture of the same Clothe or the valewe therof. This is geven by the statute of 1. R. 3.

8. And, by the same statute of 5. E. 6, if they buy any deceiptfull clothe, they ought to presente it to the chiefe officers of the towne, and ther [*sic*] ought to haue a Thirde therof, the kinge another parte, and the officer the rest; which thinge if they do not, they forfeite for euerye suche offence the value. And they ought to make triall aswell by the waight as by the measure and water.

9. Allso for Colours, by the statute of 5 E. 6, ther is not allowed to be sold within the Realme aboue xxij^{ty} Collours, and after the statute of 4 and 5 Phi. et M. foure other were added, and the puttinge to sale of any others is forfaiture of the valewe, as appeareth by both the said statutes. So that I conclude better lawes ther can not be, if they were executed, nether see I

cause why ether Clothiers should make them, or retailour or Merchaunte buy them to sell vppon payne of forfeiture.

10. And touchinge streatchinge and strayninge, the wordes of the statute are generall: No person or personnes shall do it; so that it Comprehendes both Merchaunte and retayler. My simple iudgement therfore is, that these lawes afore remembred be all verie expedient to be put in vre with moderate and Conscionable vsage. But whither they be or not, the tyme presente Considered, I leaue to graue discretions, and wold be gladd to knowe.

> What is the best waye to reforme these abuses in your opinion, and that in moderate and good manner do you suppose, without uprore, or great preiudice to any, may it be done?

The Answeare.

1. I suppose no way so meete as the findinge out and appointinge of one meete man to be a Supervisor ouer the Alnager, searchers and sealers, and giuinge him sufficient power and authority to trie moderately both by water and waight; with proviso that wher he wettes any without cause, he may be forced to paye forthwith for the newe dressinge, and by no meanes to offer any delaye or iniurye, vppon answeringe of double dammages.

2. And further that he haue authority to Compounde before sufficiente wittnesses for suche offences in reasonable manner, and that for suche fyne and compositions as shalbe sett downe in booke deliuered into th'Exchequer, with sufficient wittnesses to prove the same, so that the Queens Maiestie may haue the moytie therof and he the rest, and that for her parte he accompte before the Commissioners vppon his othe.

3. This booke wold be deliuered vnto him as Customers bookes are out of Thexchequer, and that half yearely he bringe in the same to Commissioners appointed which be skillfull in this behalfe, who shall haue also authoritie to pervse the offence, when neede is, and determine the Cause vppon the sight at the request of the clothier.

4. This one skillfull person, and vsinge the same with moderation, and havinge respecte vnto the tymes, will feare both clothier, Alnager, searcher, Merchaunte and retaylour more then any other kinde of meanes that in my poore opinion may be devised.

5. Here I knowe it willbe obiected that he will allso be corrupted, and so the lawes remaine not extended as nowe they are. To this I answeare, the Clothiers are men that wilbe ready to Complayne, and therfore some such Commissioners as wilbe meete to heare and fauour their Complaintes, viz. Merchauntes or retaylers, wold be appointed; and if the supervisor offer wronge, sett a fyne vppon his head, and lett him be praised in well doinge and mainteyned. Allso giue him a reward certain vppon provinge of any Alnagers office forfeite.

6. And thus I conclude, execute the lawe by discretion, and force the Clothier to put in waight appointed, and punishe him for streatchinge and streyninge and makinge of false colours, and withall remember the Alnagers and Searchers, together with the Merchauntes and retailers that buyeth them. And it will followe that if the Clothiers cannot haue vtteraunce for them, he will make none of them, so that our Commoditie wilbe had in great estimation in forreine Contries and at home, to the honour of the Prince and Comonwealth. And this is all that I can saye in this behalfe, which I humblie require accordinge to my good meaninge, notwithstandinge my presumption, may be well accepted as a thinge done vppon a sodayne.

7. One thinge more I haue remembred, and in my harte I do wishe it, that the Clothiers might be vrged to dwell in townes, which in continewance of tyme wold muche beawtifie the realme, and therby make townes more populous, as it was meante by the acte of 5 E. 6; in which townes good order might be taken for repressinge of all fallshod vsed by the Clothier or workman; wherby also the order of Flaunders for searchinge and sealinge might be easely brought to passe, viz.: the weauer to presente his Clothe wouen before the Masters of his Companye, and ther to be proved, the Fullier or Clotheworker likewise, and the Dyer for his parte also; which beinge founde perfecte euery of them might sett to their seales particulerly, with a Confirmation of

the towne seale wher it was made. And if it be faultie in any pointe materiall, then the seales wherin the offence is shall wante, and therby giue knowledge to the buyer; and if the offence be greate, then permitte not to seale at all. And further teare and rente the liste of from the one ende to the other, by defacinge wherof the buyer shall knowe the same to be faultye Clothe. And if any towne put to their seale to any suche false clothe, then laye a forfeite vppon the towne, aswell as one the Maker which procured the seale. And this in my poore simple opinion wold helpe that poynte. And so I ende thus simplye, havinge taken this paynes onlye to shewe my simple skill in the premisses, as one that wisheth good to my Countrie and execucion of the lawes of the realme with moderation and reiecting the extremityes.

[*Endorsed*] Leakes discourse Against Clothiars, Alnagers, Searchers, Merchauntes and Retaylers, Febr., 1576 [i.e. 1577].

10. "A DISCOURSE OF THE COMMODITIE OF THE TAKING OF THE STRAIGHT OF MAGELLANS," *c.* 1580.[1]

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. CCXXIX, No. 97.]

The perill that may ensue to all princes of Europe yf the King of Spain be suffered to enioye Portingalle with the East Indies is so great as not on sodden to be sett downe, but is a matter of greate and [grave][2] consideration, and because the

[1] This interesting document must have been written in or soon after 1580, in which year Philip II. of Spain annexed Portugal, and evidently owed its conception to Drake's famous voyage through the Straits of Magellan and round the world in 1577-79. The "Notes of the Straights of Magellan and the Islands within it receaved from the Maryners" are plainly based on the reports brought back by sailors of the *Elizabeth*, possibly by Edward Cliffe, whose account should be compared with these Notes. (See Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Vol. XI., pp. 158-62.) Philip II. tried to forestall some such action as is here advocated by himself sending a detachment of 400 men to garrison the Straits in 1582, the sole survivor of whom was picked up by the *Desire* in 1589. (See *ibid.*, Vol. XI., pp. 382-83.) There was also a revival of interest in the North-East Passage in 1580 (see below, No. 11, p. 232).

[2] The edge of the MS. is badly blotted in several places; illegible words have been conjecturally supplied, where possible, in square brackets.

matter requireth present consideration without delaye, of many wayes 3 principall there be, [which without] great charge and without open warre may worke mervelous effectes in this case of mischeefe and of the soddaine d[eath of] the Russian, which are these (for of ayde to be giuen to Portingall [?] nation I meane not to write):

And before I disclose what the 3 be, it is not altogether [strange] to the matter that I tell you, that yf the East and West Indies [belong] to Spaine and Portingalle, that is from henceforthe he will nether desire to have anie Commoditie of England nor yet [send] any Commoditie of his owne into England, hauing so many Commodities and seuerall Territories to make enterchange of the seuerall Comodities. Viz.:

1. That the straight of Magellanns be taken and fortefied, inhabited and kept.

2. That the Isle of St. Vincent in Brasill and the soylie adioyninge be taken and kept.

3. That the Northeast straight be discouered with all speed and drawen to trade.

I shewe how the straight may be with smale charges manned, fortified and victuelled and kept against all the force of Spaine.

The straight of Magellane is the gate and entrie into the treasure of bothe the East and west Indies, and who soeuer is Lord of this straight may account him selfe Lord of the west Indies, soe it may be vsed.

The greatest Nauie in the worlde may moste safely and moste quietly lye and harbour in this straight in all wethers and in all seasons of the yere. All the tract of America on Mare del Sur is voyde of fortificacion and of ordinaunce, and of Nauie of force, whereof followeth.

This straight is found to haue greate plentie of wood on bothe sides. It hathe freshe water in the Ilandes as our men found at their being there. If it had not freshe water we have a deuise of the sea water to make greate plentie. The soyles adioyninge to the straightes have stagges and victuell, as

appeareth by the rawe fleshe offered by the Sauages at the straightes to our men. The straights also have whales.

The Cape St. Vincent in Brassill is distant from the straight ——leages. The Iland of St. Vincent is easely to be wonne with——men by meane it is nether manned nor fortified. And beinge wonne it is to be kept with a——. This Island and the mayne adioyninge dothe so abound with victuell that it is able to victuell infinite multitudes of people, as our people reporte that were there with Drake, who had there Oxen, hogges, hens, Citrones, Lymons, Orenges, etc.

Distant from the mouthe of the straight of Magellane 30 leages within the straight is the Island of St. Georges, which yeldeth fowle infinite able to victuell armies. These flie not and maye easely be taken and eaten freshe or kept salte. These Islandes will yelde plentie of graine if they be sowed. These yeldeth plentie of good fishe within the straightes as it is coniectured. But it is certaine that for the space of 40 myle in the straight towarde the sowthe there is easely to be gathered at the lowe water marke greate and moste delicate muskels, able to victuell a wholle army as for euer. The seales there be xv or xvj foote longe, with which the people may be clothed, and the soyle will yeld hempe and flaxe for lynnen.

There is a notable ryuer without the mouthe of the straight full of diuers kindes of good fishe in which ryuer Magellane lay with his Nauy. The Rockes also have plenty of the fish called Lympites, as broade as halfe Orenges; of these and of the greate muskels did our men victuell.

There is in the straightes on both sides Tymber for to bwilde howses and shippes more then may be spent.

To the straightes of Magellane may be sent Clerke the pyrott vppon promise of pardon, and to culler the matter he maye goo as of him selfe and not with the countenance of thenglishe state; or some suche men may be sent. He may have with him certaine caste peeces of Iron, for the defence of the fortificacion to be made at the narrowest place of the straight. And he may have also a man skilfull in fortificacion, with platformes to be caried hence framed fitt for that place.

The Capes or pointes on eche syde may be fortefied with fortes

of ragg stone and of earthe for the tyme for possessing the passage of the straight, and for defence againste all attemptes against the sauage and all others by land, till other further order may be taken therein.

Nowe to him that shall obiect that it shall not be enoughe to keep the two pointes in the narrowe of the straight without the keeping of the entrie into the streight both at thone and at thother end of the straight, which are places one hundred and odde leag[es] a sunder; and to him that shall saye that it requireth [no smale] nauie nor no smale charge nor no smale venter to [him who] shall goe about suche an enterprice, etc., I aunsweare [that the] effect shalbe wrought with greate ease in this sorte.

For the Symerones, a people detesting the prowde gouernment of the Spaniardes, will easely be transported by Drake or others of our nation to the straightes, and there may be planted by hundreds or thowsandes, as many as we shall require, and these shall easely be induced to live subiect to the gentle gouernment of the English and to be planted there for the defence of the straightes. And planting over them a few good English Captens, and mainteyninge in the bayes of the straightes a good nauie, there is no doute but that we shall make subiect to England all the golden mynes of Peru, and all the Coste and tract of that firme of America vppon the sea of Sur yet not fortefied, and worke the like effect on the hither side of that firme. And for the spaniarde, both for his breedinge in a hote region [and] for his delicacie in dyett and lodginge, he shall not be able to endure in the coldnes of that Climate of the straight. But the Symeron, althoughe borne in a hote region, yet by meane he hathe been bredd as a slaue in all toyle farre from delicacie, he shalbe able to endure the clymate and thinke him selfe a happy man, when as by good prouision he shall finde him selfe plentifully fedde, warmely clothed and well lodged, and by our nation made free from the tyrannous Spaniard and quietly and curteousely gouerned by our nation.

To those Symerons we may adde condemned englishemen and women, in whom there may be found hope of amendment. And vsinge pollicie we might enioye those benefittes as the

spaniardes nowe doe and of many yeres haue. But admitt that we could not enioye the same longe, but that the Englishe there would aspire to gouernmentes of themselues, yet were it better that it should be soe, then that the spaniard should withe the treasure of that Cuntrie torment all the Cuntries of Europe with warres and practises, as he hathe and will doe if it be not foreseen in tyme. But we might keepe the Cuntrie as well as the spaniardes doo and vse traffick with them.

The Northeast Straighte.

Touching the northeast straight, I say that whensoeuer the rule and gouernment of the East and Weast Indies and their seuerall Isles and territories shalbe in one Prince, then nether will receaue englishe clothe nor yet care for vent of any of their Commodities to vs, hauing then so many places of their owne to make vent and enterchange of their Commodities. For the west Indies is a sufficient vent of all their wynes, oyles and of all their wolle indraped. In which respect and for that it is like that Spaine may (cominge greater in Affrike) cut of our vent of Clothe there, and for that by the deathe or Tyrany of the Muscouite our vent of clothe in Russia and in Persia may be also cut of, good pollecy wolde and good foresight requirethe that the discouery of the Northeast be taken in hand, not onely for auoydinge the greate intollerable mischeefe of lacke of vent which may happe, but also to cut Spaine from the trade of the Spicery, to the abatinge of hir Nauie, hir wealthe and highe Creditte in the world. In which respecte a present Consultation wolde be had, aswell for a choice of vj or viij or x personnes to be sent up alonge the Coaste eastwarde of S^t^. Nic[holas] towarde the greate riuer of Ob, and to seuer and some to passe vp to Kitay Lake and so Southewarde, some others to discouer estward alonge the tract of the sea till they come to the Ciuill nations, and all these to appoint a certaine returne of an aduertisement backward at a tyme and place certaine. And also to appoint certen Barkes and pynesses with flatte botomes to be made in Russia or England to be [*illegible*] to be ioyned with our shipwrightes in Russia. And vppon consultation it may

appeare that the aduantage of the yere may be taken by spedier and by sooner departure from St. Nicholas, vppon the departure of the Ise in the breaking vp of winter. Then those barkes and pynesses for discouery to be made in Russia, or, if to be made in England, for [the] said aduantage of the sooner to be wintered in St. Nicholas in Russia, or in some more easterly porte if it may [*MS. torn*], and findinge eastward of St. Nicholas a passage by sea and the land bendinge to the southe or some greate riuer portable by which we may passe Southwarde, then will rise possibilitie, not onely of ample vent of the clothe and other Commodities of Englande, but also [increase] in the trade of the spicerie, with the interchange [of] all the Commodities of the East and Weast partes of the world.

Notes of the Straightes of M[agellan] and the Islandes within it rece[aued] from the Maryners.

The 4 Islandes lye within the mowthe of the Straight and westwarde of the moste straightest of the straight 18 or 20 leagues.

The biggest Isle in Compasse is by gesse 5 or 6 myle and of good Blacke mowlde and of deep grasse, and lyeth subiect to the east sonne in the morninge pleasantly, and on bothe sides defended with the greate hils of bothe sides the straightes. This Island is of the land, and the clyffes seame a toughe reddishe and brownishe claye and lyeth higher then the sea, the hie water marke in some places xx fadome and in some lowe. This biggest they termed the Elizabethe. On this Island be some fowle, but not in that plentie as in St. Georges Island.

Thother 2 Islandes are in Compasse eache of them 2 or 3 myle, and St. Georges Island is infinite in fowle, and the soyle is blacke mowlde and lyes moste southerly. The thirde Isle is moste easterly, vppon which we weare not. This we called Bartholmewe. Vppon all these be Seales and fowle, and the people of the mayne come thither to victuell them selues, as appeard by the signes of fyre and of the bare rawe bones lefte behind them there.

There hangeth on the stipe rockes of the straight toward the

southe sea or Mare del Sur muskels of meruelous bignes and moste delicate, in suche plentie as were able to victuell an army for euer; for this tract of muskels runneth and contineweth by the sides of bayes and rockes at the coast xl myle, and at the lowe water marke may be gathered with greate ease. Lympetes bigger than halfe Oranges did cleaue to the rockes in greate plenty, of which our men did eate. We did not seeke for other fishe there, but no dout not [*sic*] there is.

There is from these Islandes within xx myle wode infynite by bothe the sydes of the straightes, which we could not be depriued of. And there is in these woodes trees as bigge as our elmes, and hard and sound tymber, so as we might make ships and botes of the same and make howses, etc. These Islandes may serue for Corne, being of good earthe and standeth in the eleuation of 53 degrees 20 mynutes. These Islandes haue smale springes of good freshe water. So that sowing there grayne and hauing clothes you have whatsoeuer the life of man requireth. And the seales skinnes wold clothe, yf there were no sheepe.

About the middest of the straightes the sauages offered peeces of fleshe rawe with the skinne on, which seemed to be of stagges, and also peeces of Seales somewhat broyled with fyer, of which may be gathered that the mayne of the sides of the straightes wanteth not the stagge nor some other victuell for the relief of suche as should there plant them[selves]. Gotes and Conies, brought to those rockes or the sides of the straightes, wold increase mightely in fewe yeres.

Without the mouthe of the straight xx myles to the northe there is a freshe ryuer, in which Magellane with his fleet made above two monthes. This riuer is full of good fishe as Magellane reported of sundry sortes.

St. Vincent, where the Portingales are planted, lye[s] under the tropicke of Capricorne and 28 degrees [and] a halfe from the mouthe of the straight of [Magellan]. This might easily be wonne and possessed [*MS. blotted*] and from thence might be brought to the straight Oranges and Lymmons and all thinges [needful].

Thomas Griggs of Plymmouthe, Steweard [?] of the [Elizabeth]

in the voyage to the straightes was on land [*MS. blotted*] the straight there; he lyeth with his brother [*MS. blotted*], dwelling in Fleetstreet or in Holborne. This [man tarried] amongest the Portingales diuers dayes and [*MS. blotted*] thinges, can [?] discypher all thinges there.

The Seales then found vppon a bare Island [vppon the] Coste of America were xv or xvj foote longe and were very tame and innumerable. The skinnes [*MS. blotted*] for clokes and garmentes were to great purpose about the straightes. The oyle of the Seale in the northeast region they vse to drinke and may be vsed to many purposes.

11. RICHARD HAKLUYT'S ADVICE ON THE SEARCH FOR A NORTH-EAST PASSAGE TO CATHAY, 1580.

[Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Vol. III., pp. 264-75.]

Notes in writing, besides more privie by mouth, that were given by M. Richard Hakluyt of Eiton in the Countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580*: to M. Arthur Pet, and to M. Charles Jackman, sent by the Merchants of the Moscovie companie for the discovery of the Northeast straight, not altogether unfit for some other enterprises of discovery, hereafter to be taken in hand.*

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.—Whereas the Portingals have, in their course to their Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to divers great purposes, so you are to see what Islands, and what ports you had neede to have by the way in your course to the Northeast. . . . And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scithian sea, where we might plant, fortifie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serve) wee might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels

of their countrey. And to which Island (if neede were, and if wee should thinke so good) wee might allure the Northeast navie, the navie of Cambalu, to resort with their commodities to us there planted, and stapling there. . . .

Respect of havens and harborowes.—And if no such Islands may bee found in the Scithian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Nova Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in short time come unto Cambalu, and unlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Nova Zembla: that in the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedier discharge of your Mariners: if you cannot go forward and backe in one selfe same Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Nova Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate Zone, you are to have regard: for if you finde the soyle planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall specially note what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the end we may turne our newe found land fishing or Island fishing, or our whale-fishing that way, for the ayde and comfort of our newe trades to the Northeast to the coasts of Asia.

Respect of fish and certaine other things.—And if the aire may be found upon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish, then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingals do in Brasill, and so they may in our fishing, in our passage, and divers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling us. And it may be, that the inland there m[a]y yeeld masts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the Navie as plentifully as Eastland doth. . . .

If a straight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.—And if there be a straight in the

passage into the Scithian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be kept. I say it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince soever shall be Lorde of the same, and shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doeth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall have the trade out of these regions into the Northeast parts of the world for himselfe, and for his private profit, or for his subjects onely, or to enjoy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the same, like as the king of Denmarke doth enjoy of his straights, by suffring the merchants of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the elevation, the high or lowe land, the havens neere, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and al the Mariners in the voyage are to be sworne to keepe close all such things, that other Princes prevent us not of the same after our returne upon the disclosing of the Mariners, if any such thing should hap. . . .

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.—Bring home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other civil place, one or other yong man, although you leave one for him. Also the fruites of the Countreys, if they will not of themselves dure, drie them and so preserve them. And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the stones of such stonefruits as you shall find there. Also the seeds of all strange herbs and flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fansie of many for the strangenesse, and for that the same may grow, and continue the delight long time. If you arrive at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for so shall you have the perfect description, which is to great purpose. To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they have had print there before it was devised in Europe as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.—If you arrive in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Navie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armour, and munition. Also, to note the force of the wals and bulwarks of their cities, their ordonance, and whether they

have any calivers, and what powder and shot. To note what armour they have. What swords. What pikes, halberds and bils. What horses of force, and what light horses they have. And so throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make conjectures by.—To take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within. Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a Merchant may make a gesse as well of their commoditie, as also of their wants. To note their Shoppes and Warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also. To see their Shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the Markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so give a gesse of many things. To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plenty or scarsitie of fish they have.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made.—Karsies of all orient colours, specially of stamell, broadcloth of orient colours also. Frizadoes, Motlies, Bristow friezes, Spanish blankets, Baies of al colours, specially with Stamel, Worsteds, Carels, Saies, Woadmols, Flanels, Rash, etc. Felts of divers colours. Taffeta hats. Deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting. Quilted caps of Levant taffeta of divers colours, for the night. Knit stocks of silke of orient colours. Knit stocks of Jerzie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude should be set in worke. Stocks of karsie of divers colours for men and for women. Garters of silke of severall kinds, and of colours divers. Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and ungilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of velvet. Gloves of all sorts knit, and of leather. Gloves perfumed. Points of all sorts of silke, threed and leather, of all maner of colours. Shooes of Spanish leather of divers colours, of divers length, cut and uncut. Shooes of other

leather. Velvet shooes and pantophles. These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a shew then for any other cause. Purses knit, and of leather. Nightcaps knit, and other. A garnish of pewter for a shew of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, etc. of that mettall. Glasses of English making. Venice glasses. Looking glasses for women, great and faire. Small dials a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do here. Spectacles of the common sort. Others of Christall trimmed with silver, and otherwise. Hower glasses. Combes of Ivorie. Combes of boxe. Combes of horne. Linnen of divers sorts. Handkerchiefs with silke of severall colours wrought. Glazen eyes to ride with against dust. Knives in sheaths both single and double, of good edge. Needles great and small of every kind. Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundry colours.

Boxes with weights for gold, and of every kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to shew that the people here use weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisedom, and of certaine government setled here. All the severall silver coynes of our English monies, to be caried with you to be shewed to the governours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more than you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haspes, etc., great and small of excellent workemanship, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we shall set our subjects in worke, which you must have in great regard. For in finding ample vent of anything that is to be wrought in this realme is more woorth to our people, besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Savoy, and all the Hospitals of England.

For banketting on shipboord persons of credite.—First, the sweetest perfumes to be set under hatches to make the place sweet against their comming aboord, if you arrive at Cambalu, Quinsay, or in any such great citie, and not among Savages.

Marmelade. Sucket. Figs barrelled. Raisins of the Sunne. Comfets of divers kinds made of purpose by him that is most excellent, that shal not dissolve. Prunes damaske. Dried

Peares. Walnuts. Almonds. Olives to make them taste their wine. The apple John that dureth two yeeres, to make shew of our fruits. Hullocke. Sacke. Vials of good sweet waters, and casting bottels of glasses to besprinkle the ghests withall, after their comming aboord. Suger to use with their wine if they will. The sweet oyle of Zante, and excellent French vineger, and a fine kind of Bisket stieped in the same do make a banketting dish, and a little Sugar cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man. Cynamon water, Imperiall water, is to be had with you to make a shew of by taste, and also to comfort your sicke in the voyage.

With these and such like, you may banket where you arrive the greater and best persons. Or with the gift of these Marmelades in small boxes, or small vials of sweet waters, you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.—Take with you the mappe of England set out in faire colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come. And also the large Mappe of London to make shew of your Citie. And let the river be drawen full of Ships of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.—If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all these Regions, it were not amisse: and if need were, to present the same to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of marveilous account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.—Such a booke caried with you and bestowed in gift would be much esteemed, as I perswade my selfe.

Bookes.—If any man will lend you the new Herball and such Bookes as make shew of herbes, plants, trees, fishes, foules and beasts of these regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobilitie, and also their merchants to have a view of them: for all things in these partes so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.—Take with you the booke of Rates, to the end you may pricke all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinsey, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.—Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lieth in small roume.

Glew.—To carie Glew, for that we have plentie and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.—To seeke vent because we have great mines of it, and have no vent.

Sope of both kindes.—To try what vent it may have, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.—To try what vent you may have of Saffron, because this realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatly in worke to their relief.

Aquavitæ.—By new devises wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.—To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.

Threed of all colours.—The vent thereof may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.—To see the vent for it may set our people in worke.

A note and Caveat for the Merchant.—That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indevour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither velvet, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

Seeds for sale.—Carie with you for that purpose all sorts of garden seeds, as well of sweete strawing herbs and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sorts for roots, etc.

Lead of the first melting.—Lead of the second melting of the slags.—To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

English iron, and wier of iron and copper.—To try the sale of the same.

Brimstone.—To try the vent of the same, because we abound with it made in the Realme.

Antimonie, a Minerall.—To see whether they have any ample use there for it, for that we may lade whole navies of it and have no use of it, unlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bels, or a litle that Alcumists use: of this you may have two sortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint and Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Juniper to avoid the offence of Brimstone.—To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the use. Candles of Waxe to light.

A painted Bellowes.—For that perhaps they have not the use of them.

A pot of cast iron.—To try the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.—To be sold there or to the lesse civil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would have you there to remember.—To note specially what excellent dying they use in those regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses: and to see their Die houses and the Materials and Simples that they use about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serve this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne use.—All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.—For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come: so false and Sophisticate commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

12. ROBERT HITCHCOCK'S "POLLITIQUE PLATT," FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FISHERIES, 1580.

[A Pollitique Platt for the honour of the Prince, the greate profite of the publique State, relief of the poore, preseruation of the riche, reformation of Roges and Idle persones, and the wealthe of

thousandes that knowes not howe to liue. Written for a New-yeres gift to Englande, and the inhabitantes thereof: by Robert Hitchcok late of Cauersfeelde in the Countie of Buckyngham, Gentleman. (Imprinted at London, by Ihon Kyngston, 1 Januarie, 1580), *passim*. The whole treatise is reprinted in modern spelling in Social England Illustrated, with introduction by Andrew Lang (Arber's English Garner, edit. 1903), pp. 59-94.]

The great Care that the Queenes Maestie, and her noble progenitors haue taken, to banishe and roote out of their Dominions that lothesome monster Idelnesse (the mother and breeder of Vacaboundes) is moste apparaunt by their wholsome lawes and prouisions, made from tyme to tyme: Beginnyng at the woorthie reigne of Kyng Edward the third, Kyng Richard the seconde, and so descendyng to her Maiesties moste prudente and vertuous gouernement, wherein aswell publique prouisions hath been to helpe the commonweale, as some sharpe and seuere punishement prouided, if common pollicie would not serue. Yet neuerthelesse all these Lawes so circumspectly made could not, nor cannot banishe that pestilent Canker out of this commonweale, by any degree, but that the same encreaseth daiely more and more, to the greate hurte and impouerishyng of this Realme.

For remedie whereof, almightie GOD by the moste comodius scituation of this Islande (and his blessynges bothe of the Lande thereof, and of the Sea, wherewith it is enuironed) hath prouided a moste conuenient meane, bothe for labor for the Idle, and for food, benefite, and ritches for the Inhabitantes. Whereby: the lustie Vacabounds and Idell persones, (the rootes, buddes and seedes of idelnesse) shall at all handes and in al places be set on worke, and labour willyngly, and thereby proue good subiectes, and profitable members of this Commonweale. This realme and the inhabitantes bordryng aswell vpon the sea, as vpon the lande throughout the same, in short tyme to be meruailously inriched. Nyne thousande Marriners more then now presently there is, to serue her Maiesties shippes at all tymes if neede bee. The Coines of golde and siluer, that issues plentefully out of this Realme, to staie and abide within this lande, for restraint whereof bothe her highnesse, and her

Reade the preamble of the Statute Henrie 8. Anno 33. Cap. 2.

noble progenitors, haue made diuerse lawes and statutes, but yet neuer could do the same. A redie meane to cause forrain wares to be brought hether. Her Maiesties Customes and Subsidies greatly augmented. Her Nauigation greatly increased. The Tounes borderyng vpon the Sea coastes now in ruine and voide of Englishe inhabitauntes, to bee peopled and inhabited by her maiesties owne peculer Subiectes: to the greate strength of this Realme, and terror of the enemie. Besides the helpe that shalbe ministered to twoo hundreth twentie and fiue decaied tounes in Englande and Wales, withastocke of two hundeth pounde to euery decaied toune to set the poore on worke. And to eight principall Port tounes with in this lande, appointed for sondrie causes apperteinyng to this Platte eighte thousande pounde, whiche is to euery principall Porte Toune one thousande pounde, to bee a stocke for euer. Besides fower hundreth Fishing Shippes to continue for euer. And twoo good Shippes of warre, furnished warlike, to defende the Fishyng Shippes. All whiche thynges (God willyng) maie bee perfourmed within three yeres, without coste or charges to any man, as by this plat shall appere. And also an infinite nomber of people, aswell rich as poore set to worke, by diuerse meanes and degrees, whiche thynges will releeue many a poore man, and saue many a tall fellowe from the Gallowes.

For performaunce whereof, first there must be made fower hundreth fishyng Shippes: after the maner of Flemishe Busses, of the burden of three score and tenne Tunne the Shippe, or more, but none vnder; whiche will coste two hundreth pound the Shippe, with the furniture, if it be readie furnished to the Sea, in all thynges necessarie. Euery Shippe requireth one skilfull Maister to gouerne it, twelue Marriners or fishermen, and xii of the strong lustie Beggers, or poore men, taken vp through this Lande. Whiche in the whole amounteth to the nomber of tenne thousande persones, at the firste mannyng of the Shippes. So that with a little experience, this Realme hath clearely increased nyne thousande Marriners, more then was in this Lande before.

These Shippes so made, furnished and manned, must be appointed to sutche Roades and Hauen tounes, as border vppon

the Sea coastes, compassyng this Realme rounde aboute: Beginnyng at *London*, and so orderly proceedyng, accordyng to the Table herevnto annexed. And beyng thus placed (hauyng with theim to the Seas, for their vicualles, sufficient Breade, Bere, Butter, and Cheese, with Barrelles emptie, Caske, and Salte, with order also not to retourne vntill thei bee fullie loden) shall goe yerely a fishyng, and kill Herynges vpon the coastes of Englande and Irelande; presently and alwaies as thei kille them, to gill theim, salte, pickle, and barrill theim after the Flemishe maner, with salte vpon salte, whiche is the beste kind of salte. And shall fishe for Herynges yerely, duryng the tyme of Heryng Fishyng: whiche is fowertene or fiftene weekes. In which tyme (by Gods grace) euery Shippe will kill (at the leaste) fiftie Laste of the beste sort of Herynges, amountyng in the whole to twentie thousande Laste. Euery Laste beyng sold but for ten pound (whiche is xvi *s.* viii *d.* the Barrell) draweth to twoo hundreth thousande poundes yerely for the beste Herynges onely. Perhaps thei maie loade their Shippes yerely twice with Herynges: and then the somme is doubled, in that tyme of Herryng Fishyng.

And to the ende the Herynges shall be wholesome for the subiecte, Straunger, or for whom so euer shall buy them, and that the good vsage therof maie get credite, where thei shall happen to bee vttered, thei shall accompte in makyng of their Herynges vpon the Sea, so as sixtene Barrelles made there, make but twelue Barrelles (at their home commyng, to their seuerall Portes) when thei shalbe newe sorted, seuered, couched, and truly and iustly packed, by sutche honest and substanciall men, as shalbe sworne, and purposely chosen for that intente, and thei to haue twoo pence of euery Barrell, accordyng to the Statute for that purpose prouided. Deuiding the full Heringes in to twoo seuerall sortes, markyng the beggest and beste Heringes with this seuerall marke B. The seconde, with the second marke, M. Also the shotten Herynges with this proper marke S. to the ende no man maie be abused. Euery Barrell conteinyng twoo and thirtie Gallons, accordyng to the statute made *Anno* 22 Edward 4, Chapiter 2. whiche twelue Barrelles makes a Laste.

Out of whiche saied nomber of twentie thousande Laste of Herynges, nine or tenne thousand Laste will be a sufficient rate or portion to satisfie this whole Realme. The residue beeyng tenne or eleuen thousande Laste, drawing to one hundred thousande pounde, beyng ordered as aforesaied, will be of as great estimation in Fraunce, as the Flemishe Herynges be. And will be solde and vttered in diuerse partes of that Region: As in Normandie, in Nantes, in Burdeux, and in Rochell. And the further South, that the Countries doe lye, the better vtteraunce for Fishe. For these Herynges retourne will be made, of all sutche necessaries, as we want in this Realme, *viz:* Wine and Woades (for whiche is alwaies paied redie gold) Salt, Canuas, Vitere, Doulas, and diuers other thynges. The Custome also for the Queenes Maiestie, beyng paied vppon euery Laste of that shall bee transported, and solde beyonde the Sea, cometh to fiue thousande pounde, after the rate of Pondage, for this nomber of Herynges onely.

The other part of this greate blessing of God, maie aptly be taken and applied, *viz:* These fower hundreth Busses or fishyng Shippes, maie take Codd and Lyng, and Newlande Fishe. The aduauntage and profite whereof, this Realme and Subiectes of late yeres, for the moste parte haue loste: and suffered straungers, the Fleminges and other Nations to take, who seeyng our carelesse dealyng, haue not onely taken this beneficiall Fishyng from vs, but verie warely doeth sell the same commoditie vnto vs. And thereby carieth out of this lande bothe Gold and Siluer, and a merueilous quantitie of double double Beere, and other thynges: satisfiyng vs, with these Fishes: whiche through our owne slothe we lose, whiche beeyng taken by our selues (as a speciall blessyng of God appointed vnto vs) and so solde to them and others it must nedes folowe, that we should saue a great masse of gold, within this land. And for that fishe thei now vtter vnto vs, we should receiue of them the comodities of the Lowe Countries. *viz:* Hollande clothe, Rape oile, Hoppes, Madder, all sortes of Wier, and diuerse other Marchandize: Or els their ready Golde and Money, whereby this realme and subiectes should be mightly enriched. This great benefite is

no lesse to bee valued, for the profite of this Realme and subiectes, then the benefite of the Herynges. For euery Shippe, beeyng but of the burden of lxx tunne, if God blesse it with safe retourne from Newfounde lande, will bryng home to his Port (in August), twentie thousande of the beste and middle sort of wette fishe (at the leaste) called blanckfishe, and tenne thousande drie fishe, whiche beyng solde vppon the Shippes retourne, as it maie be at Newhauen in Fraunce, but for fourtie shillynges the hundreth of wette fishe, which is not fower pence the fishe, and xx shillynges the hundreth of drie fishe, which is not twoo pence the fishe, amounteth to fiue hundreth pound at the least. Likewise any other of the shippes, but of the like burden, goyng a fishyng to the ward house, to Islande, to the North seas of Englande and Scotlande, or to Irelande, commeth home (at the same tyme) loden with fifteene thousande Codde, and tenne thousande Lyng, whiche beyng sold but for fourtie shillinges the hundreth one with an other, amounteth to fiue C. pownde. And besides that euery shippe will bryng home to his Port fower or fiue tunne of oile, made of fishe liuers, worthe to be sold for xii pound the tunne.

The waie how this Platte shalbe brought to passe and performed, without coste or charges to any manne, is by borowyng of fower score thousande pounde for three yeres, whiche fourtie men in a Shire will and maie easily accomplishe, if euery man lende but fiftie pounde, vpon good assuraunce, after the rate of tenne pound yerely vpon euery hundreth pounde lent, whiche sommes shal be repaied again within three yeres at twoo paimentes. In what sort this money shalbe leuied is set doune in the first table followyng. The second table doeth declare, to whom and to what principall Porte tounes the money shall bee deliuered, how it shal be vsed, who shall giue assuraunce for the same, and therewith prouide the forsaied shippes. The third table doeth shewe, to what hauen tounes these fishyng Shippes shalbe placed, and how the money shalbe leuied, to make paiment of the money borowed, and to answere all charges. And in the fowerth table is set doune, how many decaied tounes in euery Shire shall haue a continuall stocke of twoo hundreth pound a peece, to sette the poore on woorke for euer. Also how

euery man shall bee pleased, and liberally considered, that shall bee appointed to the execution of this Platte. And how the paimentes of the money borowed, with the interest money for the tyme of forbearaunce, shalbe made and paied at twoo paimentes. [Elaborate tables of calculations follow.]

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The tymes and places of the yearly fishyng for Codde and Lyng.

First for Codde vpon the Coaste of Lancashire: beginnyng at Ester and continueth vntill midsommer.

For Hakes in the deepes, betwixt Wales and Ireland, from Whitsontyde vntill sainct James tyde.

For Codde and Lyng about Padstowe, within the landes ende of Seuerne, is good fishyng from Christmas vntill midlent.

There is excellent good fishyng for Codde about Irelande, where doeth come yerely to fishe three or fower hundreth saile of Shippes and Barkes out of Biskey, Galiza and Portugale, about the Southwest partes, neare to Mackertymors countrey, and doeth continewe Aprill, Maie, June, and Julie.

Also for Codde and Lyng, on the West and Northwest of Irelande, beginning at Christmas and continueth vntill Marche.

And there is one other excelent good fishyng vpon the North of Irelande.

Also for Newelande fishe vpon the bankes of Newfoundlande. The shippes goeth forth from Englande and Irelande in Marche, and comes home loden in August.

There is an excelent good fishyng (for theim that will goe further) for Codd and Lyng, in the Riuers of Backlasse, continuyng Aprill, Maie, June, and Julie.

Also for Codde and Lyng, vppon the Northe coasts of England, and vpon the coasts of Scotlande, and the Northe Iles of Scotlande, continuyng from Ester vntill midsommer.

The like for Codde, vppon the East coastes of Freselande, Norwaie and Shotlande, from Easter vntill midsommer.

To fishe for Codde and Lyng in Islande, the Shippes commonly must goe forthe in Marche and returnes loden in August.

The like maner and tyme is vsed for Cod and Lyng from Englande to the warde house, where is excelent good fishyng, Aprill, Maie, and June.

The tymes and places of the yerely fishyng for Herynges.

The Herrynges shootes out of the deepes, on both sides of Scotlande and England, and beginneth vpon the Scots coaste at midsomer, and be not Marchaundable (but yet vendable) because they be so fat: by reason whereof they will growe reastie if they bee kept. And therefore they be presently solde.

The seconde and beste fishyng beginneth at Bartholmewtyde at Skarbrough, and so procedeth along the coaste, vntill they come to Thames mouth, continuyng very good vntill Hollentyde. All whiche tyme they bee very good and Marchaundable, and will abide the saltyng very well.

The thirde fishyng is from Thames mouthe through the narrowe Seas: yet not certaine, for after that tyme they shoote sodenly through the same Seas (vpon any extreame weather) on both sides of Irelande. Whiche fishyng doth continue vntill the feast of Saint Androwe.

Also vpon the coaste of Irelande is very good fishyng from Michaelmasse vntill Christmasse. For there is greate plentie of Herringes.

Also vpon the Northwest Seas of Englande, ouer against Carlell in Cumberlande, aboute Wirkington is good fishyng for Herynges, from Bartholmewtide vntill foretene daies after Michaelmasse.

Also from Holentyde till Christmasse vpon the coaste of Norwaie (that serues all the Easte countries) called the Mall sande, where all straungers doe fishe: paiyng their custome (a Youghendale vppon euery Laste) to the King of Denmarke. But some tymes the Frostes bee so greate there, that the Heringes will not take salte.

There is an other exercise to breede profitte, called the huntyng of the Whaile, whiche continueth all the Sommer. The Whaile is vpon the coastes of Rushe towardes Muskouy, and sainct Nicholasse. The killyng of the Whaile is bothe pleasaunt and profitable, and without greate charges: yelding greate plentie of Oyle, the tunne wherof is worth tenne pound. One of the

Shippes maie bryng home to his Porte fiftie Tunne, the whiche is worthe fiue hundreth pounde.

Obiections and aunsweres of the Author.

First what moues you to thinke that there will bee founde fortie men in euerie Shire of Englande, that will lende fiftie pounde a man, for three yeares in this couetous tyme, when euery man is for him self.

This Realme of Englande and Wales is very populos, and the moste parte be the poorer sorte of people, who daiely doeth harken when the worlde should amende with them. They are indifferent in what sorte, so that their state were relieued, and so parhappes apte to assiste Rebellion, or to ioyne with whom soeuer dare inuade this noble Ilande, if any sutche attempte should bee made. Then are they meete Guides to bryng the Soldiours or men of warre to the riche mens wealth; For they can pointe with their finger, there it is, yonder it is, here it is, and he hath it, and she hath it that will dooe vs muche good. And so procure Martyrdome with murder, to many wealthie parsons for their wealth. Therfore the wise and wealthie men of this lande had neede by greate discretion to deuise some speedy helpe herein, that this poorer sorte of people maie bee sette to some good Artes, Science, Occupacions, Craftes and labours, by whiche meanes they might be able to reliue them selues of their greate nede and want. And beyng brought to suche vocation of life, hauyng some good trade to liue vppon, there is no doubt, but they will proue good and profitable subiects, and be careful to see this common wealth florishe, and will spende their liues and bloud to defende the same, and their little wealth, their liberties, their wifes and children. For hauyng nothing they are desperate, but hauing some little goods, they will dye before thei leese it. Wherefore if this matter bee looked into with eyes of iudgement, there is no doubt of borowing the money vpon the assurance and interest. For I doe know in some Shires fower men that will gladly lende so much money as the whole Shire is appointed to lende. In Hollande and Sealande, the riche men makes so sure accounte of their fishyng,

that they appointe their children Portions to bee increased by that vse.

> I praie you shewe me by what occacion or meanes, this huge nomber of Beggers and Vacaboundes doe breede here in Englande. And why you appointe twelue of them to euery Shipp, I thinke they maie carie the Shippe awaie, and become Pirates.

If you consider the pouerty that is and doth remaine in the Shire tounes and Market tounes, within this Realme of England and Wales, which tounes being inhabited with greate store of poore householders, who by their pouertie are driuen to bring vp their youth idlely, and if they liue vntill they come to mans state, then are they past all remedie to be brought to woorke. Therfore, at suche tyme as their Parentes fayles them, they beginne to shifte, and acquainte them selues with some one like brought vppe, that hath made his shifte, with dicyng, cosenyng, picking or cutting of purses, or els if he be of courage plaine robbing by the waie side, which they count an honest shift for the time, and so come they daiely to the Gallowes. Hereby growes the greate and huge nomber of Beggers and Vacaboundes, which by no reasonable meanes or lawes could yet be brought to woorke, being thus idely brought vp. Whiche perilous state and imminent daunger, that they now stande in, I thought it good to auoide, by placeyng twelue of these poore people into euery fishyng Shippe, accordyng to this Platte. Who when they shall finde and perceiue that their diet for all the whole yeare is prouided, and that twoo vyoges euery yeare will yeelde to euery man for his paines xx pound cleare, and for euer to continue: By which honest trade they shalbe able to liue in estimacion amongest men, whereas before they were hated, whipped, almoste sterued, poore and naked, imprisoned and in daunger daiely to be marked with a burnyng Iron for a Roge, and to be hanged for a Vacabounde. When they shall finde these daungers to be auoyded by their trauaile, and thereby an encrease, of wealth to ensewe they will be glad to continue this good and profitable vocacion of life, and shunne the other.

Besides that it is well knowen, that sixe Marryners or Seafaring men is able to rule and gouerne twelue lande menne, that be not acquainted with the Sea, And therfore not to bee doubted that this kinde of people will proue Pirates, they bee so base mynded. For the harte minde and value of a man is suche, and his spirite so greate, that hee will trauaile all the kingdomes of Princes to seeke enterteinmente, rather then he will shew his face, to begg or craue reliefe of thousandes of people, that be vnworthie to vnbuckle his shooes. And in his greate want, will take with force and courage from them that hath to serue his necessitie, thinkyng it more happie to dye speedely, then to liue defamed and miserablely. Of whiche sorte of people at the breaking vppe of warres there is a greate nomber of worthie and valiaunt Soldiours, that hath serued in the Warres with inuinceable myndes, who through wante of liuyng either departe as aforesaied, or els if they tarie in Englande, hangyng is the ende of the moste parte of them.

How maie so many Shippes bee prouided for want of Tymber, Mastes, Cables, Pytche and Iron? And where shall Maisters and Marryners be had, with other nedefull things, as Salt, Nets and Caske?

To that I must put you in mynde of Hollande, Sellande and Freeselande, that of late yeares hath florished with Shippes, Marryners and Fisher men, and therby proued of merueilous wealthe, no Countrey more. And all the Timber they vsed for their Shippes came from the Domynions of other Princes. Their Cables, Mastes, Pytch and Terre came from the countryes vnder the King of Denmarke. The Sailes for their Shippes, the threede for their Nettes, came from Normandie and Brittaine: Their Salte came from Fraunce, Portugale and Spaine. And their Iron came from the countries of other Princes. We neede not doubt of these thinges, for there are Shippes presently to be bought (for the sommes of money appointed for euery Shippe) bothe here in this Realme, and in Hollande, Fraunce, and in other places. And if there were not, I could name the places within this Realme, where is plentie of Timber: If you doe remember the greate and wonderfull woods of Tymber Trees that

is in Irelande, you will shake of that doubt. And for Iron there is greate plentie made within this lande: I maie call to witnesse the inhabytaunts of the forest of Deane, the countie of Sussex with other places. And for all other needefull thinges, the Hauens, Portes, and Realme of Englande lyeth nearer to those countries where plentie is, then the Flemminges doeth. And for Maisters, there is plentie of coaste men, which will gladly serue that place that be sufficient men. And for Marriners, there is greate store of poore Fisher men all along the coaste of Englande and Wales, that will willyngly serue in these fishyng shippes and vse the crafte of fishyng, their gaine will be so greate. And for Salte there is greate plentie made at the Witches in Cheshire, and in diuers other places; Besides many Salte houses standyng vpon the coaste of Englande that makes Salte, by sething of salte Sea water; And besides the greate store of salte, that wilbe brought yerely into Englande, by the Marchauntes and others to make salte vppon salte. Also for Caske, there is greate store of Oke, Ashe and Beeche, growyng in many places of Englande, so that there can be no want of Caske, if there be vse to vse it, nor yet of any other thing aforesaied, if good consideracion be hadde. This Platte (being put in execution) will breede sutche store of Marryners, that when so euer the noble Nauie of Englande shalbee sette to the Seas, for the safegarde of this lande, there shalbe no wante of Marriners to serue in the same, where as now they be both scant and harde to be founde. Looke backe into Hollande, where practize is vsed, and see what store is there.

> You appoynte ten thousande Laste of Herrynges to be solde in Fraunce. How can that be? so long as the Flemmynges, the French men and other Nations doe fishe, who hath allreadie wonne the credite of their Fishe. They shall sell when wee can not. Then where shall the fishe taken by vs be vttered?

There is no doubt but there wilbee tenne thousande Laste of Heringes to spare, this Realme beyng serued, if these fowre hundreth fishing shippes with these fishermen be appointed to the Seas, for they will take their place to fishe within the Queenes

Maiesties Seas: And so shall serue both England and Fraunce, plentifully and also better cheape then the Flemminges are able to doe. And the Herrynges, Codde and Newlandefishe beyng vsed in sutche sorte, as the Flemminges doeth, will be of as greate estimacion as thers be, and maie yearely bee solde and vttered in Fraunce; as at Deepe, that serues and victualles all Pickardie, at Newhauen that serues all base Normandie, and at the Toune of Rone, that serues all the hie countries of Fraunce, for thether cometh yearely three hundreth Lighters (called Gabers) with Wines, of ten hundreth tunne or twelue a Gaber, and there beste returne is Fishe and Salte. And for the other partes of Fraunce, at Rochell and Burdeux. Also the Marchaunts that trauailes into Spaine, Portugale, Italy, Barbarie and Affrica, cariyng Fishe, the further South and Southweste, that the fishe well vsed is caryed, the dearer it is, and greatly desired. Wherefore lette all men fishe that will, of what countrey so euer, for there is fishe plentie in these Northren Seas for them all, if there were a thousande saile of fishyng Shippes moe then there is. And the Englishe nation shall and maie wearie them out, for their trauaile and labour (where they shall fishe) is not farre, their Portes, Harbours and Roades bee at hande, their shippes coste the Fisher men nothing: Therefore the Englishe menne shall better bee able to sell good cheape then any other Nation, by meanes wherof they shall sell when others can not. And so the Flemminges, beyng put from vttering their Herringes in Fraunce, shalbee driuen to leaue their greate Shippes, and to fishe in smaller Vesselles neare the shore, to serue their owne turnes, as hetherto they haue caused vs to dooe, for feare of them, and euery tempest triumphyng at our folly, for not takyng this greate benefite and blessyng of God powred vnto our laps.

> Howe doe you knowe that nine or ten thousande Laste of Herrynges will serue all Englande? And when warres shall happen betwene Fraunce and Englande, where shall we sell the rest of our Herrynges and other fishe? The Flemmynges beyng prouided for by their owne people.

By estemacion fiue thousande Laste of Herrynges doeth serue London, out of which portion, all the shires aboute London are

serued. And by the like estemacion, fiue thousande laste more will serue all England. And if warres should happen betwene Fraunce and Englande, then the Italianes, Spaniardes, Flemmynges, and other Nations, doeth bryng into Englande all sortes of Frenche commodities, as Wines, Woades, Lockromes and Canuas of all sortes. These Marchauntes will daiely looke for profite, and in tyme of warres nothing doeth passe with lesse daunger, soner is vented and made readie money, then these Herrynges, Codde, Lyng, and Newlandfish. So there is no doubt of vtterance for fishe, either in warres or in peace: Let experience of other Countries serue for this whollie. And I thinke it good to let you vnderstande howe Herrynges were solde in Fraunce *Anno*. 1577. The beste Flemmishe Herrynges were solde for fower and twentie pounde tenne shillynges the Laste, Yarmouth Herringes (who of late doeth vse and order their Herynges as the Flemmings doeth) were solde for twentie pounde twelue shillinges the Laste, Irishe Herringes for eightene pounde the Laste, Coaste Herringes and Scottishe Herrynges for a leuen pounde the Laste. These defferences in Heringes, whiche beyng vsed as is set doune in this Platte, will bee in all places (with in a little tyme) equall in goodnesse with the Flemmishe Herringes.

In what order doeth the Flemminges, the Frenchmen and others fishe for Herrynges, Codde, and Newlandefishe.

First beholde this Sea Plat or proportiture here set doune, shewing how the same Straungers doe fishe in their great Shippes vpon the Englishe coaste: And how our Englishe men (for feare of them and euery tempest as aforesaied) doe fishe in small Vesselles neare the shore.

The Flemminges sets out of Flanders, Hollande and Sealande yearely (at Bartholmewtide) fower or fiue hundreth Busses, to fishe for Heringes vppon the East coaste of Englande, where before they fishe, they aske leaue at Scarbrough (as euer more they haue doen), with which honor (and no profite) this Realme and Subiectes hath hetherto beene vainely fedde. And amongest theim this is the order, one man prouides the Shippe, an other victualls and Salte, the thirde Caske, the fowerth Nets; And

when the shippes comes home deuides the Fishe. There goeth out of Fraunce commonly fiue hundreth saile of shippes yearely in Marche to Newfoundlande, to fishe for Newlande fishe, and comes home againe in August. Amongest many of theim, this is the order, tenne or twelue Marryners doeth conferre with a Money man, who furnisheth them with money to buy Shippes, Victualls, Salte, Lines and Hookes, to be paied his money at the shippes returne, either in fishe or in money, with fiue and thirtie pounde vpon the hundreth pounde in money lent. Likewise here in Englande, in the West countrey the like order is vsed, the fishermen conferres with the money man, who furnisheth them with money to prouide victualls, salte, and all other needefull thinges, to be paied twentie fiue pounde at the shippes returne vpon the hundreth pound in money lent. And some of the same money men doth borowe money vpon ten pounde in the hundreth pounde, and puts it forthe in this order to the Fishermen. And for to be assured of the money ventered, they will haue it assured, geuyng sixe pounde for the assuring of euery hundreth pound to hym that abides the venture of the Shippes returne, as thus: A shippe of Excester is gone to the Warde house, to fishe for Codd and Lyng, the venture of the Shippe, Salte and Victualls is three hundreth pounde; for eightene pownd all is assured. So that if the ship neuer returne, yet the money man gaineth *declaro* fortie and eight pound and his principall againe. So by these reasons, there seameth greate good to bee doen by fishyng, when other men beyng at such charges doe proue riche by vsing this trade. Shall not the Englishe nacion that thus shall fishe (the greatest charges cut of) bee more able to sell good cheape, then any others maie, and so wearie them out as aforesaied?

> You saie that muche golde goeth forthe of this lande for Wynes and other Frenche commodities: I praie you, to what value in the yeare doth the Wynes of Fraunce brought into England amounte vnto? And what seuerall sortes of Englishe wares bee solde in Fraunce to buy the same?

I doe esteeme to come into Englande euery yeare, ten thousande Tunne of Gascoine and Rochell Wines, which at

twentie Crounes the Tunne, amounteth in Englishe paymente to threescore thousande pounde. The flete that goeth from London to Burdeux carieth commonly victualls, Ballace, and some Cloth, for the money is alwaies made ouer by exchaunge, out of London, out of Flaunders and out of Spaine. And the ships that goeth from other places of this Realme, as from Bristowe, Wales, Westchester, Newcastle, Hull, and elswhere to the Vintage, caryeth (contrary to the law) Lether, Calueskins, Butter, and Tallowe, with readie golde, as they maie prouide it all the whole yeare before. At Rone in Fraunce, which is the chefest vent, be solde our Englishe wares, as Welche and Manchester Cottons, Northerne Carseis, Whites, Leade, and Tinne: Whiche money is commonly imployed in Normandie and Brittaine, in all sortes of Canuasses with other small wares, and in Lockromes, Viterie, and Dowlasse, Pouldauis, Olyraunce and Mynderner, parte for readie money, parte for commoditie. And Woades is commonly loden at Burdeux, and vttered there to our Nation, and others, for money and Clothe, or els not. These sortes of wares bought in Fraunce, besides the Wines, amounts (by estimacion) to sixe tymes so muche as all the Englishe wares bee solde for in Fraunce euery yeare. And for a truthe, this trade of fishyng is the best (and of lightest coste that can bee founde) to counteruaile the valewes of the Frenche commodities. Experience doeth shewe the same, by the Flemminges: Who with their greene fishe, barreled Cod and Heringes, caryeth out of Englande for the same yearely both golde and siluer and other comodities: and at the leaste tenne thousande tunne of dubble dubble Beare, and hath also all kinde of Frenche commodities, continually both in tyme of warres and peace, by their trade onely of fishyng. Thus the greate summes of golde that is caried yerely out of this lande to the vintage (as appeareth by this Plat following) will staie: And the Wines neuerthelesse, and other frenche waires of all sortes, wilbe had and obteyned for Herrynges and fishe.

When you put your fishyng Platte into the Parliament house, what did you conseaue by the speache of suche Burgesses, as you conferred with of the same?

In the eightene yeare of the Queenes Maiesties reigne, fiue or sixe daies before the Parliament house brake vp, I hadde the Burgesses (almoste) of all the stately Porte tounes of Englande and Wales, at a Dynner with mee at Westminister, emongest whom the substaunce of my Platte was red, and of euery man well lyked, so that some were desirous to haue a Copie of the same, and saied, that they would of their owne coste and charges set so many Shippes to the Sea, as was to their tounes appointed, without the assistaunce of any other. Of the like minde were the Burgesses of Rye, and some saied it were good to leuye a subsidie of twoo shillynges lande, and sixteene pence goods, for the makyng of these fishyng Shippes. Of whiche minde the speaker maister Bell was, saying a Parliament hath beene called for a lesse cause; other some saied, it were good to giue a subsidie for this purpose, to shippe these kinde of people in this sorte, for if they should neuer retourne, and so auoided, the land were happie, for it is but riddaunce of a nomber of idle and euill disposed people. But these men that so doth thinke, wilbee of an other minde with in two yeares nexte after this Platte take effecte, as when they shall see, by this occacion onely, such a nomber of Carpenters and Shipwrightes set on worke, suche a nomber of Cowpers imployed, suche nombers of people makyng Lynes, Ropes and Cables, dressors of Hempe, spinners of threede, and makers of Nets, so many Salte houses set vp to make salte, and salte vpon salte: And what a nomber of Marryners is made of poore men, and what a nomber of poore people is set on woorke in those Shires all along vpon the Sea coaste in Englande and Wales: in splettyng of fishe, washyng of fishe, packyng of fishe, salting of fishe, carying and recarying of fishe, and seruing all the countries in England with fishe. And to serue all those occupacions aforesaied, there must depende an infinite nomber of seruants, boyes, and daie laborers for the vse of thinges needefull. And with all to remember how that aboute Englande and Wales, there is established in fower score

Hauen tounes fiue fishyng Shippes to euery toune, to continue for euer: whiche will breede plentie of fishe in euery Market, (and that will make fleshe good cheape); And that by the onely helpe of God and these fishermen, there shalbe established within Englande and Wales, to two hundreth fiue and twentie decaied tounes, a stocke of two hundreth pounde to euery decaied toune, whiche shall continue for euer to set the poore people on worke. And, to conclude, I doe carie that minde, that with in fewe yeares, there will bee of these fishyng tounes of suche wealth, that they will cast Ditches aboute their Tounes, and walle the same defensiue against the Enemie, to garde them and their wealthe in more saiftie. What Englishe man is he, thinke you, that will not reioyce to see these things come to passe? And for my parte I perceiue nothing but good successe is like to come of this Platte. To further the same I gaue a Copie hereof to my Lorde of Leicester, sixe yeares paste, one other copie to the Queenes Maiestie, fower yeares paste. Also to sundrie of her Maiesties priuie Councell certaine copies. And in the ende of the laste Parliament, holden in the saied eightene yeare of her Maiesties Raigne, I gaue twelue Copies to Councellors of the lawe, and other men of greate credite, hopyng that God would stirre vppe some good man to set out this woorke, whiche the Author (beyng a Soldiour, trained vp in the warres and not in scholles, with greate charges and trauaile of mynde for his countrie sake) hath deuised and laied as a foundacion, for them that hath iudgement to buylde vppon. Amongest whome, Maister Leonerd Digges, (a proper Gentilman and a wise) had one Copie, who (being a Burgesse of the house) tooke occasion there vppon to desire licence to speake his mynd concerning this Plat, saieyng he spake for the common wealthe of all England, and for no priuate cause. He (by report) did so wortheley frame his speach, for the common weale of his countrey, that he hath gained thereby bothe fame and greate good likyng of all the hearers, and so concluded, desiryng that this deuice might be red, whiche, for want of tyme, was deferred vntill their next assembley in Parliament.

FINIS.

13. EXTRACT FROM PECKHAM'S "DISCOURSE OF THE NECESSITIE AND COMMODITIE OF PLANTING ENGLISH COLONIES UPON THE NORTH PARTES OF AMERICA," 1583.

[Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, Vol. VIII., pp. 110-120 *passim*. "A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight. . . . Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe adventurer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound Land."]

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys is likely to prove very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

Now to show how the same is likely to proove very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greatest jewell of this realme, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshall matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall navy of her Majesty, which by reason of this voyage shall have both increase and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in sundry places of this realme ships have beene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English navy of fishermen will not suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they have no succour and knowen safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish so long as pleased themselves, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there), whereof David Ingram (who

travelled in those countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth give great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, that it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Moreover, it is well knowen that all Savages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of civility, will take marvelous delight in any garment, be it never so simple; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten cassocke, a cap, or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe have heard this report made sundry times by divers of our countreymen, who have dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelve yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to civility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margent,[1] I do leave to the judgement of such as are discreet.

And questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both have beene and now are utterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessively then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the inlargement of our navy, and maintenance of our navigation.

To what end need I endevour my selfe by arguments to prove that by this voyage our navie and navigation shalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest and

[1] Clothiers, Woolmen, Carders, Spinners, Weavers, Fullers, Sheermen, Diers, Drapers, Cappers, Hatters, etc. and many decayed townes repayred.

late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who since the first discovery of the Indies have not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themselves and their subjects: but have also by just account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance?

Besides this, it will proove a generall benefit unto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now live idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, and unprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelve or fourteene yeeres of age, or under, may bee kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreover, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, drying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and divers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselves in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the Whale for Trane, and making caskes to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying, salting and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or science.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subjects of this Realme, which doe now live here idlely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authours to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconveniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound judgement, that this voyage is of greater

importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in use and trade amongst us.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreis is likely to prove to the particular profit of all adventurers.

I must now according to my promise shew foorth some probable reasons that the adventurers in this journey are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore convenient that I doe divide the adventurers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themselves, and the Merchants by themselves. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so divided, but that eche society may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselves, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are very easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adjoyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the elevation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily conjecture: the rather because I doe certainly understand, that some of those which have the managing of this matter knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reveale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat and settle themselves in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as have bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds, and

fowles both for pleasure and necessary use of man are to be found.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and divers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as have delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and river, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger than an Oxe, whose hide is more then eighteene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker, a sea man, who was upon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of divers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage above two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide; and with this agreeth David Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe; there are likewise beasts and fowles of divers kinds, which I omit for brevities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be divers of good credit in this realme that have tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once setled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as have a desire to the furtherance of every good and commendable action, I will first say unto them, as I have done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abovesayde is doubtlesse to bee found the most wholesome and best temperature of ayre, fertilitie of soyle, and every other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill, we doe travell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscovie, and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence, with lesse danger then now we have them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand upon likelihoods and

presumptions, I say that such persons as have discovered and travelled those partes doe testifie that they have found in those countryes all these things following, namely: [a list of beasts, birds, fishes, trees, minerals, etc.].

And seeing that for small costs the trueth of these things may be understood (whereof this intended supply will give us more certaine assurance), I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to adventure some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the societie of the adventurers in this voyage there is provision made, that no adventurer shall be bound to any further charge then his first adventure; and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe, his children, his apprentises and servants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priviledge that adventurers in other voyages have not: and in the said articles it is likewise provided, that none other then such as have adventured in the first voyage, or shal become adventurers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally, I say unto all such according to the olde proverbe, Nothing venture, nothing have. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had (as by Gods grace it will), the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre countries, shal by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge, I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe rivers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twise in the yere at the least. But let us omit all presumptions how vehement soever, and dwel upon the certainty of such commodities as were discovered by S[ir] Humfrey Gilbert and his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such

quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which have bene there, it would seeme incredible.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discovered there), I doe holde them for some respects more meete for a time to be concealed then uttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Savages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, silver, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the above specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister just occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein these commodities following especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necessary things, and fish of farre greater sise and plenty then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serve our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be given to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine river doth thereunto adjoyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France did hyre a ship out of the Island of Jersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the sayd ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70 tunne. I doe know the shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooved very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serve for a taste, untill such time as

it shall please almighty God, through our owne industrie, to send us better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this journey shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the judgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not necessary in this treatise publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

> The sixt Chapter sheweth that the traffique and planting in those countries shall be unto the Savages themselves very beneficiall and gainefull.

Now to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not undertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selves and our countrey (as generally other trades and journeis be) it shall fall out in proofe, that the Savages shall hereby have just cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was undertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the devill to Christ, from hell to heaven. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde us (were they many moe) that they should but receive this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more than fully recompenced.

But heereunto it may bee objected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: unto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aswel before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answere, we may say with S. Paul, If wee have sowen unto you heavenly things, doe you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heavenly tidings, which those labourers our countreymen (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present unto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreover, if the other inferiour worldly

and temporall things which they shall receive from us be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal judgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receive shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall unto us. And admit that they had (as they have not) the knowledge to put their land to some use: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to civilitie and knowledge, and made then to understand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary use of mans life, then the whole now doeth: What just cause of complaint may they have? And in my private opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receive by the Christians: for, over and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from unseemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well governed common wealth, and withall shalbe taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and, which standeth them most upon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their lives shalbe preserved. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shall be preserved from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and ever heretofore used amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doe feare lest I have already more than halfe tired the reader.

14. "A DISCOURSE OF CORPORATIONS," 1587-89 (?).

[Harl. MSS., 4243, ff. 60 *seq.*]

A Corporation is an vnitinge of a Societie vsinge one trade, misterie or occupacion into one bodie by the Prince or Souer-aigne, havinge aucthoritie to make lawes and ordinances tochinge suche trade, misterie or occupacion, wherevnto euery member of the same is subiect.

In this definition I do not meane to comprehend all bodies politique included in the lawe by that name, but onely suche as trade Marchandize or vse misteries, as those that vse retaile in buyinge and sellinge, [or] as Manuell craftes, as Masons, Smithes, Carpenders and suche like, wherein consisteth the labour of the bodie and the handes.

Of these Corporacions some concerne foreine trafique, and some our trades at home.

First, I put downe for a Maxime that all Monapolies haue bin condemned by all politique men and in all well gouerned Comonweales, as a cause of all dearth and scarcetie in the same, contrarie to the nature and kinde of all Societies, which first growe into Townes and Cities to lie in safetie and to leve in plentie and cheapnes.

For a Monapolie is an encrochement [? engrossment] of the comodities into the handes of one or fewe, whereby the sole buyinge and sellinge of the same is brought into fewe handes, which ought to be free and comon to all the Citizens of the same Comonwealthe; which in our governement by the statute of Regratinge and Forestallinge is prohibited, otherwise it would be too easie for a small nomber to become riche and to make a multitude poore. And so Thales Milesius, as I remember, to whome it was obiected that the studie of Philosophie was but beggerie, provinge by the knowledge of the same that that yeare Olives would be scant, brought all into his owne handes, and shewed by that Monopolie that Philosophie could also make money. For where there be fewe sellers and many buiers, there of necessitie must be highnes of price at the will of the seller, wherein the gouernours ought to haue great care. For those kingdomes contynue longest and people best pleased where most men feele plentie and fewe fele want, wherein, whatsoeuer may be replied to the contrarie, who list to reade Stories of time past may observe respublicas, Comonwelthes, to have continued longer then kingdoms, and kinges longer than Tyrantes. But the mischief of Monapolies can neuer be avoided as longe as there be any Corporacions.

And to enter more particulerlie and to pursue foraine Corporacions, I take it Iniurious that the Seas which be comon for

all nacions and proper to all people should be prohibited to any which would in peaceable sorte vse the same, to inriche them selves or theire Cuntries in Iustice without any wronge or hurte to theire neighboures. Yt is also Iure Gentium and by the lawe of all nacions established that the subiectes of Princes in amitie should haunt the costes of eche other to buy and sell without doinge Iniurie or Damage to the people or Cuntrey.

And this kinde of Corporacion is vsed in no other Region or Land to prohibite the naturall borne of the Cuntrey to vse equall libertie and fredome of the Seas or the frequentacion of any forreine Cuntrey for trafique and marchandize in times of peace and amitie, but onely in this our Realme of England. Oftentimes by good policie marchantes are forbidden to bringe in certen kinde of wares which aperteine to the effeminatinge of the people in wanton and riotous life and the attire of the bodie, or suche as do withdrawe the treasures of the Realme and laboures from the people. But that any Societies should haue the prerogative aboue the rest of the nacion to trafique the Seas [is] against comon right and the lawe, vnder the which we are borne, and is our inheritance, and ought not to be taken from any members of the same state without aparant vtilitie and proffit of the whole bodie of the comonwealthe, and by suche authoritie as Lawes are made and abrogated accordinge to the vse and privieledge of the Cuntrey, and beinge not so founded are revocable at his maiestes good will and pleasure as thinges hurtfull and noisome to the publique good and benefit, as apeareth by the iniuries which do and may ensue thereby.

First, it is to be laied for a ground and confessed of all men that it is the best policie so to gouerne our owne comodities that our Cuntrey and soile yeldeth, that they may carrie estimacion and value in those partes whither we transporte them, and not to be too deare at home; and that forreine Comodities be kept at lowe and base prices amonge us.

And another is that the thinges which we carrie out do surmount in price the thinges which we bringe in; else shall we sone make a poore land and a poore people. And, this beinge true, it semeth to me that it were muche better for the publique

weale of vs all that the accesse of straungers into our Cuntrey were revived and allured againe.

For it standeth with reason that it is aparaunt in the iudgement even of the meanely wise that he that offereth to sell will sell better cheape then when it is sought for at his handes, and that men beinge farre from home and lyinge at great chardge of shippinge, maryners wages, victualles, tackle and such like be forced to make spedie sale of that they bringe in, and to haste to fraighte them selves a newe with the fruites and treasures of the land where they arive; whereby the Indwellers gett gaine sufficient, and they by their spedie retourne make theire greatest accompt of suche wares as they bringe home; for the which beinge laide vp in theire storehouses in safetie they may attend theire best chapmen, and tyme when suche thinges are most in request, consideringe the marchant hath ever eie to his gaine, and as he seketh to make no plentie where he dwelleth but to fede in necessitie, so attendeth he the time of his greatest proffitt.

I can yet remember the lowe prices of Oile, wine, spice, oad, alome, pitch, silkes, flax, suger and such like, whenas London florished with accesse of marchantes of all nations and the stretes were full of them euery where. And the inhauncementes and encrease of the same in these our covetous daies, which since theire forsakinge of vs hath not solie growne by the Improvement of the values of our monies, wherewith it agreeth in no kinde or manner of proporcion, but by these onely Monopolies and confederates of these Societies wherevnto they are nowe growen, [and] by false suggestion made to the parliament and gouernours of the states procured diuerse lawes and ordinaunces whereby they weried the straungers and incroched the whole trafique into theire owne handes.

These Corporacions of Spaine, Flaunders, Danske, Muscouia and suche other, that may haue an especiall tolleracion for a time in respect of the adventure and great chardge in maintenaunce of the voiage, are not onely Iniurious to the rest of the subiectes of the Realme as is aforesaid, but are also the cause of the inhauncement of the prices of all outlandishe comodities, whereby increaseth the price of our thinges at home, to the

great grevaunce and burden of the naturall lieges of this Realme. For if oile, ode, alome be dere, howe can clothe be good cheape? And so likewise in other thinges, as of iron, Flax, pitche, lynnen, etc. vsed in the apparelling and husbandrie of our people.

Moreouer, there is another principle agreed vpon in this schoole of marchauntes, that whereas there be many sellers and fewe buyers the thinge sould most be goode cheape, and on the contrarie where there be many buyers and fewe sellers the thinge sould most nedes be dere; and so consequentlie, if the exercise of our trafique be equallie permitted to all, then shall the outlandishe comodities be brought in with great plentie, and sould to the inhabitauntes of the Realme for litle money.

I am not ignorant that this argument is vsed to the contrary and for the maintenaunce of corporacions, for that our marchantes travellinge forreine Landes in grete multitude haue made our comodities lesse estemed, because the straunger, seinge the abundaunce of our stores, and the necessitie of our vent dependinge of the labour and worke of our people, haue estemed them of base and lowe prices and force vs to sell at theire pleasure; and therefore great cause to reduce the trafique of the wares and comodities of our Cuntrey into Societies who might moderate and guide the transportacion of them as we might perceue our neighboures to have nede of them, otherwise that we should be driven to deliuer our wares at lowe and small values, and to buy theire pleasures of the frutes we want at highe and loftie prices, knowinge for certen that they will not retourne emptie.

Hereby it is made manifeste by theire owne confession, as I saied before, that all forreine trafique beinge brought into the handes of fewe companies, which are but a small nomber in respect of the whole bodie of this Comon wealthe, that we most be driven not onely to buy the forreine wares at suche highe prices as the bringers of them do Sesse, but also to sell our home comodities at such estimate as our marchantes liste to value them, beinge nowe lefte none with whome we buy or sell but they. And if theire policie be not mett withall in time, they will haue all the comodities and yeldes of this land vnder theire comaundement.

Nether is this assertion true which they alleage, by pretence whereof they haue obteined theire Societies and forreine corporacions: that our marchantes occupyinge heretofore into great libertie and multitude haue brought suche thinges as our Cuntrey yeldeth into litle estimacion. For the treasures of our Realme being but suche as are of Request and whereof our neighboures haue great nede in the Cuntreis where they trade, we shall neuer want Chapmen; nether were they at any time in theire greatest freedome of so little policie as to Cloye any one Coste or haven with too muche Fraighte of one kinde, but did accordinge to the aduertisement of their Leegers there lade from hence the stores of our Cuntrey, and apointed theire voiage bothe in respect of the place and the time when they knewe theire comodities most desired, and the straungers to have greatest want of them.

And to answere the late experience of Muscouia and the voiage to the Nerve then newely discouered, whither a great nomber, allured by the former excessive gaine of a fewe, repaired to the said place in suche inconsiderate manner and abundaunce that the Cuntrey seinge our plentie estemed it the lesse and inhaunced theire own prouision farre dearer, so that many of the venturers retourned home into England with great losse[1]; but they were so corrected with theire owne follie that they comitted the like error neuer since; which grewe not by any governement of that companye, but by the experience and discipline which they learned by theire great hindraunce and damage which they susteined in theire greedie sekinge after inordinat gaine.

And besides the knowledge that we haue had of the cheapenes of former time, if it shall please you to loke but a litle into the matter, yt shalbe easie for you to perceve and iudge the cause and ground thereof. For when the Seas were free, venturers made choice of theire portes and Cuntreis and of theire times and seasons for the same. And as diuerse Cuntreis yeld the same thinge and diuerse nacions haue nede of like comodities, so did our marchauntes disperse ours when and where they

[1] This episode, which took place in 1565, is referred to in Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce (below, p. 293).

found them most desired, and fraughted them selues backe againe from suche places where they serued, and furnished theire selves at base and lowest prices, and so aforded for reasonable gaines at theire retornes.

Nether is this against that principle which is afore confessed, that it is for the enrichement of a comonwealthe to haue our owne wares richelie sould abroad, and the straungers pleasures good cheape to be brought in. But the Corporacions is the onely overthrowe of this ground, and of all the good that might growe to the comonwealthe in observinge of the same. For the straungers, knowinge the time of our martes and of the repaire of our marchauntes with great fleetes, and knowinge they cannot attend longe for great chardge of theire shippinge, forceth them to sell vnderfoote the wares they bringe, and as they list to buy, and to lade them selues backe againe with suche marchandize as they finde in those places, at those prices as the straungers liste to sell them. The which after theire retournes havinge once put in safetie in theire storehouses, beinge past all hazarde of fortune, they raise theire greatest gaine of theire voiage vpon the subiectes of this Realme, ventinge the same at excessive prices, havinge leasure, time and oportunitie therevnto; which inconvenience, growinge by the Cunninge dealinge of our marchantes in banishinge of the straungers which dwell farre from vs, by hard imposicions of Customes, politique prouisions of the Navie and suche like, which all are growne by them, is nowe so planted within this Comonwelthe by these Corporacions as it cannot receue remedie but by the dissolucion of the same.

For these Corporacions, tradinge in trothe in conspiracies, beinge sworne to kepe secrete the ordinaunces and devises of theire fraternities, confederat not onely at what prices they shall sell the wares that they bringe, which is aparant by the small difference of prices in all theire grosse sales and retaile, but also what prices they shall giue for theire comodities at home, as to the Clothier for his clothe, others for theire wooll, lead, tyn, etc., whereby they are become Lordes ouer all the Comodities of this Realme, for no man may buy or sell but as they will; for they have provided by theire constitucion *ne quis pluris ne quis minoris*, that no man should sell for lesse or buy for more;

which thoughe they will denye as a thinge not tollerable in any Comonwelthe, it is aparaunt in theire accions, for occupyinge in consorte they buy at one price and sell at one price, as privie one to anothers doinges; whereas marchauntes tradinge heretofore at large, as they brought dere or good chepe, so they sould some at one price and some at another.

Herevpon groweth the great mourninge and complaintes of many poore clothiers abrode that they are faine to seke the marchantes to offer theire clothes with teares in theire eies, and faine to leave theire clothes in gage, which were wonte to be soughte at theire handes and for good prices; wherevpon many have given vp clothinge and more are like to doe; as I thinke you may remember the exclamacion of the Clothiers the last parliament.[1] And this mischief toucheth not onely them but must in time the whole state, for howe can it be but they must set price of all mens goodes, aswell inwarde as outwarde, if no man shall trade but their societies.

And therefore, as farre as I am able to loke into these matters of trafique, I conclude (the opinion and iudgement of the wiser euer reserued) that it is preiudiciall to the weale publique that the Seas, which is comon to all by the lawe of nature, should be shutt vp against any man that would hazard and venture his goodes in the same. The openes and libertie whereof fourdeth to other nacions good Cities, havens, shippinge, plentie and Cheapenes in their regions and dominions, and so it hath bin in ours. For we see it is the policie of all Regions to allure marchantes straungers to theire kingdomes and Cuntreis with great liberties, priuieledges and ymmunities above theire owne naturall Citizens.

[1] This probably refers to the troubles in the West of England in the winter of 1586-87, when there was a great deal of unemployment in the cloth trade, which the clothiers attributed to the fact that they could not "find reasonable price nor utterance for their cloth in London" with the Merchant Adventurers. The episode is referred to in Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce (*below*, pp. 292, 294). See also Vol. I., pp. 214-16, of this work, and S.P.D. Elizabeth, Vol. CLXXXIX. No. 50, and Vol. CC., Nos. 5 and 10. This would suggest that the date of the above document falls between the parliament which ended March, 1587, and the next, which began February, 1589.

Flaunders, a barren soile, is onely growne so great by the allurement of straungers; the liberties that our marchantes haue there they enioye with great swetenes. Venice, the porte of the worlde, is a welcomer of all straungers in better condicions then them selves. Howe glad the Duke of Florence is to embrace our marchantes at Ligurno! Yea, and the great Turke at Constantinople is nowe before our eies. And the onely cause is that all men finde that it is better for them to haue the thinges they want brought home for them, then to seke and fetche them from others.

Navie.

Here have I occasion to touche the maintenaunce of the Navie, so muche avaunted of since the strangers withdrewe them from our Costes. It may not be denied but that the same is carefullie to be mainteyned as a thinge wherin consisteth the strengthe and defence of our Cuntrey. But the same shalbe better mainteined by multitude of marchantes then by a fewe, wherevnto the Corporacions threaten the Realme; and that apeared by the Brotherhood of Thomas Beckett, first stablished in the lowe Cuntreis, called nowe the Company of Marchantes Venturers, wherevpon ensued a great complainte in the time of Kinge Henrie the seventh for decaie of Marchantes and Navigacion.

Besides (except I be greatlie deceved) it were easie to devise to make our Shippinge no lesse, and straungers comodities to be as plentifull brought in by them selves as heretofore have bin.

Inwarde Corporations.

Nowe to speake of Corporacions which are erected and established within the Circuit and walles of our Cuntrey: ether they be vniuersall, as of Cities, Townes and Boroughes; orelles of particuler Societies within the same, as Marcers, drapers, grocers and suche as vse misteries; orelles of manuell occupacions, as Smithes, Masons, Carpenders and suche like.

And as touchinge vniuersall bodies publique, I do thinke all corporacions of Townes and Cities, and speciallie suche as border vpon the sea, to be very inconvenient and hurtfull to the subiectes and comon welthe, and of no necessitie to vse, ether to the prince or people, yea not to the inhabitantes them selves.

For I laye first for a ground that it is the scite and place where euery Towne or Citie is builded which is the chief cause

of the florishinge of the same, orelles some speciall trade and trafique appropriat to the same, and not the incorporacion thereof; as we may see for an example Winchelsey, sometime a proper towne and haven, which since the sea hath forsaken the same it is growne to great decaie, thoughe the Corporacion contynue as it hathe; the same also happened to diuerse other haven Townes vpon the Coste of England, and the like is of Lincoln, Winchester and others, which are growne to ruine and pouertie because the trades of the Staple and other trafique is transported into other places. Whereas, if ether the Courses of the Sea returned to theire former Channelles or the accustomed trafique were restored to the said Cities, they would encrease to theire auncient glorie and welthe thoughe they were not incorporat at all.

And as for haven Townes, they be the worse for theire bodies politique. For this wilbe confessed of all men, that marchantes will most frequent bothe Costes and havens where they may come with most freedome, make spedie sale of the wares they bringe in, and sonest fraight them selves againe. But in Townes and havens Corporat the Inhabitantes may onely buy of the marchant. For if any other of the Cuntrey come to buy any of the marchantes wares at the first hand, it is accompted forrein bought and forreine sould, and forfetted to the Taker. By which meanes the Portes men, havinge suche priuieledge and prerogative by theire Corporacions, do drive the marchantes to sell at theire price, orelles to put them selves to the Sea againe, which sometime they cannot doe by reason of a contrary winde; which mischief the marchantes once provinge do not willinglie haunte suche Portes againe. By which occasion the onely trade of marchantes is nowe to London, which hath eaten vp all the rest of the Townes and havens of England, because there they finde spedie vent and spedie fraight againe.

Whereas, if the haven townes were free for euery man to buy and sell in the same and at theire Crykes and Portes, all the Cuntrey vpon the hearinge of the arrivall of any shippe would make their provision at the first hand; whereby the towne should be increased, not onely by the expence of the mariners and shipmen in victuallinge and furnishinge of apparell and other neces-

saries, but also by the accesse of the Cuntrey people, by vittelling, by carriages, by sellerage, lodinge, and by the advantage of the first and last contracte with the marchauntes.

Yt is well knowen that Poole, a proper towne in the West Cuntrey, was riche and furnished with good shippinge and riche marchauntes, but since the Incorporatinge of the same the marchantes decaied, theire shippinge gonn and theire towne poore.[1] And the like is of diuerse other townes in the west Cuntrey and vpon the Coste of England.

Whereas it may be saied, and if these Corporacions were not, there would not be so good governement in townes, nor contribucions to private and publique chardge so easelie levied.

This is answered by dailye experience, aswell of the Cuntreis where better governement is and where as easie levies are made for any service by the Iustices of the peace, as also in diuerse other good townes, as Berie, Newberie, Godlymine in Surrey, and diuerse other townes not Corporate, where euery inhabitant of the Towne contributeth to the chardge of the same for the time of his dwellinge, as reason is he should, aswell as they do in townes Corporate.

What great occasion of dearthe groweth within this Realme by these Corporacions is not loked vnto, and speciallie of London, which is the staple and storehouse to all England.

Firste, the marchaunt accompteth his gaine vpon his bargaine from the Coste from whence he cometh. Then is there another Company called contractours latelie spronge vp; who, vpon the arrivall of the Shippes to the haven of the Thames, engrosse the whole fraighte into two or three handes. Then the Retailer, who vttereth the same in small sale, is faine to buy it of these Ingrossers at the second hand. They disperse it againe into diuerse partes of the Realme to Chapmen; and so they abroad to the people of the Cuntrey at the fourthe hand.

Leste perchaunce it might be conceved of me that I do vtterly condempne all maner of bodies publique and Societies, I am wholie of this opinion that all Societies and bodies publique

[1] Poole was constituted a county incorporate, separate from the county of Dorset, by a charter dated June 23rd, 10 Elizabeth (1569).

beinge forreine, and all vniuersall Corporacions as of Townes, Cities and boroughes, are vnprofitable and very hurtfull to the Comon wealthe. Priuate Societies, and Companies suche as concerne misteries and Consiste in buyinge and sellinge, as mercers, grocers, etc., bringe more harme then good to the publique wealthe. But Corporacions which concerne manuell occupacions, as Smithes, Carpenders, Armorers, and suche other, wherein is vsed and excercised the labour and worke of the handes, are not onely profitable, but also very nedefull, that order be taken that no man be admitted to publique practise and profession of the same artes till he hath served in the same, and be allowed of the masters and wardens of the Companies to be an able and a sufficient man to deale truely and skillfullie in that Science that he professethe.

Finallie, I forbeare the intollerable Iniuries and Indignities which are offred to her maiestes subiectes in the governement of these bodies politique, where, Contrarie to all policie, men voied of all learninge are authorized to hould Cognisaunce of plea in matters of Iustice, in causes of equitie, and also made Iudges in Criminall actions; which is not to be sene againe in any well governed state, but that the Iudges of the people aswell in townes as provinces are men of great learninge and knowledge.

finis.

15. BASTARD'S EPIGRAM ON THE MONOPOLIES, 1598.

[From Chrestoleros, Book II., Epigr. 17, Ad Aulicos. In The Poems English and Latin of the Rev. Thomas Bastard, M.A., ed. A. B. Grosart (1880), p. 23.]

Ye Courtiers, so may you in courtly sorte
With manners old, old Courtiers long remaine,
So that some vpstart courtiers ye refraine,
Vnworthy of a peerelesse princes port.
As courtier leather, courtier pinne, and sope,
And courtier vinegeer, and starch and carde;
And courtier cups, such as were neuer heard,
And such as shall not court it long, we hope.
The true gentilitie by their owne Armes
Aduance themselues, the false by others harmes.

16. NASHE ON THE YARMOUTH HERRING TRADE, 1599.

[From Nashe's Lenten Stuffe, in The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. A. B. Grosart (1883-84), Vol. V., pp. 237-41, 257-58, 307-8.]

That English marchandise is most precious which no country can be without: if you aske *Suffolke*, *Essex*, *Kent*, *Sussex* or *Leinster*, or *Cotswold*, what marchandise that should be? they will answere you, it is the very same which *Polidore Virgill* cals *Vere aureum vellus*, the true golden fleece of our woll and English cloth and nought else: other engrating vpland cormorants will grunt out it is *Grana paradisi*, our grain or corne that is most sought after. The Westerners and Northerners that [it] is lead, tinne and iron. Butter and cheese, butter and cheese, saith the farmer. But from every one of these I dissent and wil stoutely bide by it, that to trowle in the cash throughout all nations [of] christendome, there is no fellowe to the red herring. The French, Spanish, and Italian haue wool inough of their owne whereof they make cloth to serue their turne, though it be somewhat courser then oures. For corne, none of the East parts but surpasseth us; of leade and tinne is the most scarcity in forraine dominions, and plenty with vs, though they are not vtterly barraine of them. As for iron, about *Isenborough* and other places of *Germany* they haue quadruple the store wee haue. As touching butter and cheese, the *Hollanders* cry by your leaue wee must goe before you, and the *Transalpiners* with their lordly *Parmasin* (so named of the citty of *Parma* in Italy where it is first cloutcrushed and made) shoulder in for the vpper hand as hotly; when as of our appropriate glory of the red herring, no region twixt the poles articke and antartick may, can or will rebate from vs one scruple.

On no coast like ours is it caught in such abundance, no where drest in his right cue but vnder our Horizon; hosted, rosted and tosted heere alone it is, and as well poudred and salted as any Duchman would desire. If you articulate with me of the gaine or profit of it, without the which the newe fanglest raritie, that no body can boast of but ourselues, after three dayes gazing, is reuerst ouer to children for babies to play with: behold it is

euery mans money, from the King to the Courtier; euery housholder or goodman *Baltrop*, that keepes a family in pay, casts for it as one of his standing prouisions. The poorer sort make it three parts of there sustenaunce; with it for his dinner the patchedest *Leather piltche laboratho* may dine like a Spanish Duke, when the niggardliest mouse of biefe will cost him sixpence. In the craft of catching or taking it, and smudging it, Marchant and chapmanable as it should be, it sets a worke thousands, who liue all the rest of the yeare gayly well, by what in some fewe weekes they scratch vp then, and come to beare office of Questman and Scauinger in the Parish where they dwell: which they could neuer haue done, but would haue begd or starud with their wiues and brattes, had not this Captaine of the squamy cattell so stoode their good Lord and master: Carpenters, Shipwrights, makers of lines, roapes and cables, dressers of Hempe, spinners of thred, and net weauers it giues their handfuls to, sets vp so many salt-houses to make salt, and salt vpon salt; keepes in earnings the Cooper, the Brewer, the Baker, and numbers of other people, to gill, wash and packe it, and carrie it and recarrie it.

In exchange of it from other Countries, they returne wine and Woades, for which is alwaies paide ready Golde, with salt, Canuas, Vitre, and a great deale of good trash. Her Maiesties tributes and customes, this *Semper Augustus* of the Seas finnie freeholders augmenteth and enlargeth vncountably, and to the encrease of Nauigation: for her seruice hee is no enemie.

Voiages of purchase or reprisals, which are now grown a common traffique, swallow vp and consume more Saylers and Marriners then they breede, and lightly not a slop of a ropehaler they send forth to the Queenes ships, but hee is first broken to the Sea in the Herring mans Skiffe or Cock-boate, where hauing learned to brooke all waters, and drinke as he can out of a tarrie Canne, and eate poore Iohn out of swuttie platters when he may get it, without butter or mustard, there is no ho with him, but once hartned thus, hee will needes be a man of warre, or a *Tobacco* taker, and weare a siluer Whistle. Some of these for their haughtie climbing come home with woodden legges and some with none, but leaue body and all behinde; those that escape to

bring news tell of nothing but eating Tallow and yong blackamores, of fiue and fiue to a Rat in euery messe, and the shipboy to the tayle, of stopping their noses when they drunke stinking water that came out of the pumpe of the ship, and cutting a greasie buffe ierkin in tripes and broiling it for their dinners. Diuers Indian adventures haue beene seasoned with direr mishaps, not hauing for eight dayes space the quantity of a candles-end among eight score, to grease their lippes with, and landing in the end to seeke food, by the canibal Sauages they haue bene circumuented and forced to yeeld their bodies to feed them.

. . . There are that number of Herrings vented out of Yarmouth euery yeare (though the Grammarians make no plurall number of *Halec*) as not onely they are more by two thousand Last then our owne land can spend, but they fil all other lands, to whome at their owne prises they sell them; and happie is he that can first lay hold of them. And how can it bee otherwise, for if Cornish Pilchards, otherwise called *Fumados*, taken on the shore of Cornewall, from Iuly to Nouember, bee so saleable as they are in Fraunce, Spaine, and Italy (which are but counterfets to the red Herring as Copper to Golde, or Ockamie to siluer), much more, there elbows itch for ioy, when they meete with the true Golde, the true red Herring it selfe. No true flying fish but he, or if there be, that fish neuer flies but when his wings are wet, and the red Herring flyes best when his wings are dry: throughout Belgia, high Germanie, Fraunce, Spaine and Italy hee flyes, and vp into Greece, and Africa South, and Southwest, Estritch-like walkes his stations, and the Sepulcher: Palmers or Pilgrims, because hee is so portable, fill their Scrips with them; yea no dispraise to the bloud of the *Ottamans*, the *Nabuchedonesor* of Constantinople, and Giantly *Antæus*, that neuer yawneth nor neezeth but he affrighteth the whole earth, gormandizing muncheth him vp for imperiall dainties, and will not spare his Idol *Mahomet* a bit with him, no, not though it would fetch him from heauen fortie yeares before his time. . . .

Alas poore hunger starued Muse, wee shall haue some spawne of a goose-quill or ouer worne pander quirking and girding, was it so hard driuen that it had nothing to feede vpon but a redde herring? . . . But let none of these scumme of the suburbs be

too vineger tarte with mee: for if they bee, Ile take mine oath vppon a redde herring and eate it, to prooue their fathers, their grandfathers, and their great grandfathers, or any other of their kinne, were scullions dishwash, and durty draffe and swil, set against a redde herring. The puissant red herring, the golden *Hesperides* red herring, the *Meonian* red herring, the red herring of red Herrings Hal, euery pregnant peculiar of whose resplendent laude and honour, to delineate and adumbrate to the ample life, were a woorke that would drinke drie fourescore and eighteene Castalian fountaines of eloquence, consume another *Athens* of facunditie, and abate the haughtiest poeticall fury twixt this and the burning Zone and the tropike of Cancer. My conceit is cast into a sweating sicknesse, with ascending these few steps of his renowme; into what a hote broyling saint Laurence feuer would it relapse then, should I spend the whole bagge of my winde in climbing vp to the lofty mountaine creast of his Trophees! But no more winde will I spend on it but this: Saint Patrike for Ireland, Saint George for England, and the red Herring for Yarmouth!

17. WHEELER'S DEFENCE OF THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS, 1601.

[A Treatise of Commerce, wherein are shewed the commodities arising by a wel ordered and ruled Trade, Such as that of the Societie of Merchantes Adventurers is proved to bee, written principallie for the better information of those who doubt of the Necessarienes of the said Societie in the State of the Realme of Englande, by John Wheeler, Secretarie to the said Societie (Middelburgh, 1601) pp. 7 *seq.*]

Of the first Institution of the Fellowshippe or Companie of Marchantes Adventurers, and the causes thereof.

Marcus Cato, a prudent Councellour and a good husband in deed, saith: *Quod oportet Patremfamilias vendacem esse non emacem.* And who knoweth not that we haue no smal need of manie things, whereof foreign Countreis haue great store, and that we may well spare manie thinges, whereof the saide Countries haue also need? Nowe to vent the superfluities of our Countrie,

and bring in the Commodities of others, there is no readier or better meane then by merchandize; and seeing we haue no way to increase our treasure by mynes of golde and siluer at home, and can haue nothing from abroad without monie or ware, it followeth necessarilie that the abouesaid good councell of Cato to be sellers and not buyers is to be followed; yet so, that we carrie not out more in valew ouer the seas then we bring home from thence, or transporte thinges hurtfull to the State, for this were no good husbandry, but tendeth to the subversion of the lande and deminishing of the treasure therof; whereas by the other wee shall greatlie encrease it, the trade being caried and managed vnder a convenient Gouvernement and orders, and not in a dispersed, loose, and stragling manner; the practice whereof we may see in this Realm almost these 400 yeares together: First in the Staple and Woolle trade, and next in that of the M.M. Adventurers and Clothe trade. . . .

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Of the State and Gouuernement of the Companie of Merchantes Aduenturers, and of such benefites as grow to the Realme by the maintenance therof.

The Companie of Merchants Adventurers consisteth of a great number of wealthie, and well experimented Merchantes, dwelling in diuerse great Citties, Maritime Townes, and other partes of the Realme, to witt, in *London*, *Yorke*, *Norwitche*, *Excester*, *Ipswitch*, *Newcastle*, *Hull*, &c. These men of olde time linked and bounde them selues togither in Companie, for the exercise of Merchandise and sea-fare, trading in Clothe, Kersye, and all other, as well English as foreign Commodities vendible abroade; by the which they brought vnto the places where they traded much wealth, benefite and commoditie, and for that cause haue obtayned manie verie excellent and singular Priviledges, Rightes, Iurisdictions, exemptions and immunities; all which those of the aforesaid Fellowshippe equallie enioye after a well ordered manner and forme, and according to the ordinances, lawes, and customes deuized and agreed vpon by common consente of all the Merchantes, free of the said Fellowshipp, dwelling in the aboue mentioned Townes and places of

the Lande. The partes and places which they trade vnto are the Townes and Portes lyeing betweene the Riuers of *Somme* in *France* and the *Scawe* in the *Germane* Sea; not into all at once, or at each mans pleasure, but into one or two Townes at the moste, within the abouesaide boundes, whiche they commonly call the Mart Towne, or Townes; for that there onelie they stapled the commodities whiche they brought out of Englande, and put the same to sale, and bought such foreigne Commodities as the lande wanted, and were brought from farre by Merchants of diuerse Nations and Countreis flockinge thither, as to a faire or markett, to buye and sell. . . . As long as the Companie continued their Mart or Staple in a place, so long grew and prospered that place; but when they forsooke it, the welfare and good estate thereof seemed withal to departe . . . and no marvaile: For diligent inquirie being made in the yere 1550 by the commandement of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, what benefite or commoditie came to his State of the low Countreis by the haunt and Commerce of the English Merchantes, it was found that in the Cittie of *Antwerp* alone, where the Companie of M.M. Adventurers was at that time residing, were at least twentie thousand persons fed and mainteyned for the most part by the trade of the M.M. Aduenturers; besides thirtie thousand others in other places of the low Countries likewise maintayned and fed partlie by the said trade, partly by endraping of Clothe, and working in Wooll and other commodities brought out of England. . . . [This] no doubt was the cause that the Princes of the low Countreis haue been so favourable to the aboue saide Companie, and so loath to forgoe or loose them, as knowing that therewithall they should loose a verie faire flower of their garlande, yea a sure roote and foundation of their wealth.

The companie of M. M. Adventurers is able to make and diuert a trade.

For on the one side, such is the valew, profite and goodnes of the English Commodities, that all Nations of these partes of Europe and elsewhere desire them, and on the other side, the English Merchants buye vp and carrie into Englande so great a quantitie of foreigne wares, that for the sale thereof all straunge Merchauntes doe and will repaire vnto them. Now what these Englishe commodities are, and how they be so profitable, may appeare by the particulars following:

The profites arisinge by the M. M. Adventurers trade and residence beyonde the Seas.

First, there is shipped out yearely by the abouesaid Companie at least sixtie thousand white Clothes, besides coloured Clothes of all sortes, Kersyes short and longe, Bayes, Cottons, Northern Dosens, and diuerse other Kindes of course clothes; the iust valew of these sixtie thousande white Clothes can not well bee calculated, or sett downe, but they are not lesse woorth (in mine opinion) then sixe hundred thousande poundes sterling of English monie.

The coloured Clothes of all sortes, Bayes, Kersyes, Northern Dosens, and other course Clothes, I reckon to arise to the number of fortie thousand Clothes, at least; and they be woorth one with another foure hundred thousand poundes sterling of English money.

There goeth also out of England, besides these Woollen Clothes, into the low Countries, Wool, Fel, Lead, Tinne, Saffron, Conyskins, Leather, Tallow, Alabastre stones, Corn, Beer, and diuers other things, amounting vnto great summes of mony; by al which commodities a number of labouring men are set on work, and gaign much monie, besides that which the Merchaunt gaineth, which is no small matter. Herevnto adde the monie which Shippers, and men that live vpon the water, gett by fraight, and portage of the foresaid Commodities from place to place, which would amount to a great summe if the particulars thereof were, or could be, exactlie gathered. . . . besides the profite raised vpon the Chambers, Sellers and Packhouses which they must haue for foure or fiue hundred Merchants, whereby Rentes are mainteyned and kept vp; and the great expenses otherwise, which the said Merchants are at for their diete, apparell, etc.; to saye nothing of the Princes or Generalities profit and reuenues by their Tolles, Convoyes, Impostes, Axcyses, and other dewties. . . .

It followeth to shewe what the M.M. Adventurers buye for returne of straunge Nations and people frequenting their Marte Townes, and bringing their Countrie commodities thether.

Germane wares.

Of the Dutche and Germane Marchantes, they buye Rhenish Wine, Fustians, Copper, Steele, Hemp, Oinion-seed, Copper and Iron Wyre, Latten, Kettels and Pannes, Linnen cloth, Harnas, Saltpeter, Gun-powder, all things made at *Norenbergh;* and, in

summe, there is no kinde of ware that Germanie yeeldeth, but generallie the M.M. adventurers buye as much, or more thereof, then any other Nation.

Italiane wares.

Of the Italians, they buye all kinde of silke wares, Velvittes, wrought and vnwrought, Taffitaes, Satins, Damaskes, Sarsenettes, Milan fustians, Clothe of golde and siluer, Grograines, Chamlettes, Satin, and sowing silke, Organzine, Orsoy, and all other kinde of wares either made or to be had in Italie.

Esterlinge wares.

Of the Esterlinges they buye Flaxe, Hemp, Wax, Pitche, Tarre, Wainscot, Deal bordes, Oares, Corn, Furres, Cables, and Cable yearne, Tallow, Ropes, Mastes for shippes, Sope-ashes, Estrigd wooll, and almost what soeuer is made or groweth in the East Countries.

Portingale wares.

Of the Portingales, they buye all kinde of Spyces, and Drugges.

With the Spanish and Frenche, they had not much to doe, by reason that other Englishe Merchantes haue had a great trade into France and Spaine, and so serue England directlie from thence with the commodities of those Countries.

Netherlandishe wares.

Of the low Countrie Merchantes or Netherlanders, they buye all kinde of manufacture or handworke not made in Englande, Tapestrie, Buckrams, white threed, incle, Linnen clothe of all sortes, Cambrickes, Lawnes, Mather, and an infinite number of other thinges, to longe to rehearse in particular. . . . I haue heard it crediblie reported that all the Commodities, that come out of all other Countreis besides Englande, were not wonte to sett so manie people on woorke in the low Countreis as the Commodities which came out of England onely did, neither that anie other two of the greatest Nations that frequented the said low Countreis for trade did buye or carie out so much goodes in valew as the Merchantes Adventurers. . . . It would not hurt the state of the Empire a whytt to holde friendshippe and entertayn so profitable a Companie and Trade as this, whereby great multitudes of their poore people might be sett on worke and gett their liuing, and in processe of tyme grow riche thereby, as the men of *Antwerpe* and others of the lowe Countries haue done; which by the practises of the Pope, and King of Spaine, and the vnreasonable dealing of the *Hanses*, is in a manner kept from them.

The root and spring of all this almost incredible Trade and Trafficque hath had his increase and proceeding from the politike Gouuernement, Lawes and Orders devised and obserued of olde time in the said Companie, as aforesaide: especiallie since the raigne of King *Henrie* the seuenth. . . . These saide ordinances conteine in them all kinde of good Discipline, Instruction, and rules to bring vp youth in and to keepe them in order: so that the Marchants Aduenturers dwelling in the aboue mentioned Citties and Townes of the Realme of Englande sende their yong men, sonnes, and servauntes or Apprentices, who for the most parte are Gentlemens sonnes, or mens children of good meanes or qualitie, to the Marte Townes beyonde the Seas, there to learne good facions, and to gaigne experience, and knowledge in trade, and the manners of straunge Nations. . . .

Besides, the said Companie hath a Gouvernour, or in his absence a Deputie, and foure and twentie Assistentes in the Marte Towne, who haue Iurisdiction, and full Authoritie as well from her Maiestie, as from the Princes, States and Rulers of the low Countries, and beyond the seas, without Appelle, provocation, or declination, to ende and determine all Ciuile causes, questions, and controversies arising betweene or amonge the Brethren, Members, and supportes of the saide Companie, or betweene them and others, either Englishe or Straungers, who either may or will prorogate the Iurisdiction of the saide Companie and their Court, or are subiect to the same by the Priviledges and Charters therevnto graunted.

By the saide Gouvernour and Assistentes are also appointed and chosen a Deputie, and certaine discreete persons to be Associates to the saide Deputie, in all other places convenient, as well within as without the Realme of Englande, who all holde Correspondence with the Gouvernour of the Companie and chiefe Court in the Mart Towne on the other side the Seas, and haue subalterne power to exercise Merchauntes lawe, to rule and looke to the good ordering of the Brethren of the Companie euerie where, as farre as may bee, and their Charters will beare them out.

Further, the saide Companie entertaineth godlie and learned Preachers with liberall stipendes, and other benefites; hath also

Benefites and Commodities arisinge by the Companie of Merchantes Adventurers.

Treasurers, Secretaries, and other needefull Officers. The end of all which is: *The seemelie and orderlie Gouvernement and rule of all the members, partes and Brethren of the saide Companie wher-soeuer in their Trade and feat of Merchandise. Secondly, The Preseruation of Amitie, and the Entercourse betweene the Realme of England and their Neighbours and Allies, and the Preventing of Innovations, griefs, wronges and exactions contrarie to the same. Thirdlie, the great Vent, Advancement and keeping in Estimation of English Commodities, and the bringing in of foreigne Commodities good cheape. Fourthlie, the Maintenance of the Navigation. Fifthlie, The Encrease of the Queenes Incomes and Customes. Sixthlie, and lastlie, the Honor and Seruice of the Prince, and of our State and Countrey, at home, and abroad.*

Now that all these benefites and commodities arise by the Companie of Merchantes Adventurers, I hope by and by plainlie to shew. . . .

. . . . . .

That the Amitie and Entercourse betweene the Realme of Englande and their Neighbours and Allies are cherished, and all Innovations, griefes, wronges and exactions contrarie to the same are prevented, by the Maintenance of the Companie of Merchants Adventurers.

[Relates the long-standing friendship between England and the Low Countries. Attributes the success and prosperity of the latter to the aid given by the English Crown and the resort of the English merchants there.]

. . . The Companie therefore of the M.M. Adventurers are a great obstacle to the raising and bringing in of new and vnwonted Tolles, Impostes, exactions and grievances, which otherwise the subiects of the Realme of Englande, their Shippes and goods, would be charged with and oppressed, contrarie to the treaties of Amitie . . . whiche commeth to passe by meanes and helpe of their common purse, and by officers mainteyned to keepe register of all things needfull, and to defende these common causes from time to time. . . . And this a perticular man is not able to doe . . . and . . . will rather yeeld vnto a wronge, whereby it commeth to passe by litle and litle that . . . vn-

wonted tallages, taxes and impositions are leuyed vpon the subiect, to his great grievance and empouerishing, and to the bringing of the Trade into straungers handes onely; a thing of longe tyme practised and laboured for by them, and chieflie prevented and withstoode by the Companie of M.M. Adventurers, which hath stirred vp the Easterlinges and some Merchants of *Antwerpe* of late dayes against them. The Easterlings continewe still in their pride of heart, and indurate malice; the *Antwerpians*, and their new-borne Colledge (the troubles groweing vpon them) were forced to be quiet, though within these three yeares their first and last (perhaps) Consull and Secretarie haue sollicited the States Generall of the vnited Provinces with their Complaints and accusations, to embrace and renew their olde quarrelles and pretences, and to sett vp on foote againe their decayed Consulate. . . . The true purpose and drift whereof is nothing else (as I saide) but to eate the Adventurers out of their trade, as they of *Antwerpe* heretofore did the Merchauntes of other Nations, *Portingalles*, *Italians*, *Dutches*, or *Germanes* and others. . . . And to shewe that this which I haue saide is true, I will by the way more perticularlie rippe vp this matter.

The Antwerpeners eate the Marchants of other Nations out of their trade.

First, for the *Portingall*, we knowe that, like a good simple man, he sailed euerie yeare full hungerlie (God wotte) about three partes of the Earth almoste for spyces, and when he had brought them home, the great ryche purses of the *Antwerpians*, subiectes of the King of Spaine, engrossed them all into their owne handes, yea oftentimes gaue money for them before hande, making thereof a plain *Monopolie*, whereby they onely gaigned, and all other Nations lost: For that the spyces, being in few mens handes, were sold at such rate as they listed, to their own private lucre and gaign, and to the hurt and damage of all others.

The *Italians*, Englishe, and Germane Merchantes were wont to haue a verie profitable and good trade into Italie, with Kersyes and other Englishe and foreign Commodities serving that Countrie, but a little before the troubles of the low Cuntries the *Antwerpians* were growen into that trade, and were become the greatest Dealers that way, and further to *Alexandria*, *Cipres*, *Tripolie in Siria* and other remote places, seruing the same more then anie other, with linen Cloth, Worsteds, Sayes,

Tapestrie, and other Netherlandishe Wares; by meanes whereof the said Italians, Englishe, and Germanes were forced to leaue that trade, or to doe verie litle.

The *Dutch* or *Germane* Merchantes had the whole Trade in their owne handes of all Commodities brought to *Antwerpe* from other places that serued Germanie, buying vp all them selues, and caryeing them to the Townes and Martes in their own Countrie. But in a few yeres the *Antwerpians* had also wholie gott that Trade, and the Germanes in a manner did nothing; for the other in all Martes and Faires in Dutchlande bare the chiefest swindge, and serued the same with Commodities of all Landes, and of all sortes; so that looke what the Germane vsed to gett, that they gott, eating as it were the bread out of his mouth.

As for the *Easterlinges*, they had begunne a Staple of their commodities at *Antwerpe*, but in the opinion of wyse-men, if it had longe continued, it would haue eaten out cleane and consumed their Merchants and Mariners from the seas, as they began not a little to be diminished by those of *Amsterdam*, and other but new vpstart Townes in *Holland*, with their great number of Hulkes, and other shippes.

Of the Spanish trade, and Merchantes of Spaine, because they were King *Philippes* subiectes, there is not much to be said, but yet the *Antwerpians* had meanes to gett a good fleese from them too: for the Merchauntes of *Antwerpe*, beeing of great wealth, were able to sell these commodities, which best serued Spaine and the *Indies*, at longe dayes of payement, and by meanes therof did sett them at suche highe and deare pryces, that when the dayes of payment came, and the Spaniard lacked his returnes to keepe credite with, hee was forced to runne vpon the Exchaunge, or Interest, till his provision came in; by which time his gaynes was consumed by vsurie, and many tymes some of the principall: besides, they solde the Spaniarde their worst wares, and caried the choycest them selues into Spaine, whether they traded more then al the Spaniardes in the lande did.

For the trade of the Merchauntes of Fraunce: there hath been often warre betwene that Countrie and the Dukes of *Burgundie*, as hath bin aboue partlie touched; by meanes whereof there hath been much colouring of goodes betweene the one Princes people

and the other, and that so ordinarilie and cunninglie, that the *Antwerpians* aboue all the Merchauntes besides were as privie, expert and skilfull in all the Frenche trickes and indirect trades and conveyances as the Frenchmen them selues; by reason whereof, in tyme of peace, the Frenche Merchauntes were much endamaged and hindred: for the *Antwerpians* serued *Germanie*, *Spaine*, *Portingall*, *Eastlande*, and their neighbours of the low Countries, with such things as the French men themselues vsed to sell and vent in those places.

Now lett vs looke a while into England, and take a view, what the *Antwerpians*, and other Netherlanders, principallie those of *Antwerpe*, haue done there, and you shall finde that not past 80 yeares agoe, there were not in all *London* about [*sic*] twelue or sixteene lowe Countrie Merchantes, and amongst them, not past fower of anie credite or estimation. For the Merchaundise which they then brought into Englande most were stone pottes, brushes, puppettes, and toyes for children, bristles for shoemakers, and such other pedlery ware of small valew, and sometimes a little fishe and three or foure pieces of linen Cloth. But in lesse then the compasse of fortie yeares following, there were in *London* at least one hundred Netherlandish Merchantes, the most parte whereof were of *Antwerp*, and thether they brought all kinde of wares, whiche the Merchauntes of *Italie*, *Germanie*, *Spaine*, *Fraunce*, and *Eastlande* . . . vsed to bring into England out of their owne Countries directlie; to the great damage of the saide straungers, and of the Naturall borne English Merchauntes; whiche Englishe Merchantes and their trade also the saide Netherlanders (but especially those of Antwerpe), as much as in them laye, euen then sought and practised to destroy and ouerthrow, and since haue been manie yeares about it. Which in good time was discouered, and by the diligence and trauaile of the Merchantes Adventurers principallie, not without their great cost and charge, hath been hetherto withstood and prevented; and so will be still so long as that Companie continueth on foot, let the other repine and mutter at it as much as they list, and seeke to crosse and hinder the Adventurers, wheresoeuer they can procure audience with their vnseasonable Remonstrances, spitefull Declarations, and harshe

Complaintes, to the raising vp, as much as in them lyeth, of the like stirre and disagreement betweene her Maiestie and the States of the vnited Netherlandes at this time, as happened in the yeare 1563 vnder the gouuernement of the Dutchesse of *Parma*, Regent for the late King *Philippe* of Spaine at that time in the low Countries; when as through the complaint of the Merchantes of *Antwerpe* principallie, and of others of the said low Countries, against the raising of the Custome of Clothe and of foreign Wares brought into England, and speciallie against an Act of Parleament made for the setting of her Maiesties people on worke, by vertue whereof foreign wares, as Pinnes, Kniues, Hattes, Girdles, Ribbin and such like, were forbidden to be brought in readie wrought, to th'intent that her Highnes subiectes might be employed in making thereof, the saide Dutchesse of *Parma* by proclamation forbadd the carying into England of anie kinde of matter or thing wherewith the said wares might be made, and banished out of the low Countries all Manufacture or handie-worke, as Bayes, etc., made in Englande, Clothe, and Kersye onely excepted, which also shee afterwardes forbad to be brought in vpon payne of confiscation, vnder shew or pretence of infection (for that the plague had raigned verie sore in *London* and other places of the Realme that sommer); but in verie trueth the right cause was for that shee could not haue her will in the aboue-mentioned pointes, and tooke that time of mortalitie and wante of trade in Englande to be the readiest and fittest opportunitie to attayne therevnto. So that finallie the M.M. Adventurers, after they had kept their Clothes and other goods aboorde their shippes in the Riuer of *Thames* and *Scheld* fiue monethes together, and might not be permitted to lande them at *Antwerpe*, were at length forced to departe with the same vnto the Town of Embden in Eastfriseland, where they obtayned Priviledges and Contracted for a free Commerce with the two yonge Earles *Eggard* and *Iohn*, and the Ladie *Anne* Countesse of *Oldenburghe* their Mother, Anno 1564, who neither feared nor founde anie contagion in the Englishe and their Commodities, and by this meanes brake the violence of the foresaid Dutchesses intention, erecting their trade in the aboue-said Towne, and leauing *Antwerpe* and the low Countries;

wherevpon King *Philippe* and his Ministers, grieving sore that they could not haue their will of her Maiestie and her Highnes subiectes, and that they must forgoe so profitable a Milche-cowe as the English trade was vnto the low Countries, an Edict or Proclamation was sett forth [May 1564], That no person in the saide low Cuntries should haue or vse any trade with the Englishe at *Embden*, buy anie Cloth or Englishe Woollen commoditie of them or carie them anie wares vpon paine of confiscation of the same; then the which dealing what could be more iniurious or enemy-like in time of open warres? But herein the saide King not onely shott at the state of England, but withall he endammaged other Nations, and particularlie those of the Empire, as though no Countrie-Merchants ought to trade any where, but in his Countries, and when, and where, and with whom it pleased him . . . forbidding vpon paine of losse of goodes the Imperiall Merchantes, as well as others, from occupying, buying or selling within the limites of the Empire, as though he had been Emperour him selfe. . . . At length, when the King of Spaine, for all the instigation of his Netherlanders and popish Ministers, sawe that hee could not prevaile and were at a stand, he and they were glad and fayne to come to a provisionall agreement, and to accept of such Priviledges and liberties as the saide Netherlanders enioyed in England in the last yeare of Queene *Maries* raigne . . . and to call in all those foresaid Placcates, Edictes and Prohibitions made against the Englishe and bringing in of Englishe wares.

Prohibition of al Trade with the Englishe by K. Philippe.

[Relates the further course of the disputes; the arrest of the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp and in Spain, and attachment of their goods, and the consequent arrest of the Netherlanders in England; the removal of the Merchant Adventurers from Antwerp to Hamburgh for a time; the Duke of Alva's proclamation in 1569 forbidding all dealing with the English; and finally the settlement of the differences in 1574 and the renewal of intercourse.]

That the better and greater vent and advancement of English Commodities, and the bringing in of foreigne Wares (good cheape) is procured by the Companie of Merchants Adventurers.

. . . . . .

[That] the order and institution of the Marte-Towne, so longe and so seriouslie practised and mayntayned by the M.M. Aduenturers, [is] soundlie and well grounded, I think no man will gain-saye. Next, late experience, as well at home as abroade, hath taught vs that when another course was liked of by some, and that diuerse of the Companie had disbanded them selues, and . . . erected vnto them selues a private, irregulare and straglinge trade, the commoditie of the Realme lay vnvented, or grew to bee embased, and solde at lower prices then before. For when as about fourteene yeares past, in the 29th yeare of her Majesties Raigne, The Wooll-growers, Clothiers, Weavers, and others living vpon Cloth-making, wanting their accustomed commoditie, gaines, and woorke, made a grievous complaint thereof, it was thought to be the onelie expedient to remedie this sore, to giue libertie to all her Highnes Subiects and others to buye and transporte Clothe accordinge to the limitation of the lawes, any grauntes or Priviledges by her Maiesties prerogatiue heeretofore to the M.M. Aduenturers graunted notwithstandinge: yet wee sawe that the maladie was neuer a whitt the better, but rather grew worse and worse, in somuch that the poore people in *Wiltshiere* and *Glocestershiere*, livinge wholy vpon Clothe making, in great numbers were readie to growe into a mutinie for this Cause, to the singulare reioycing of the enemies of her Maiestie, and in particulare of the *Hanses*, who desire nothing more then the overthrowe of the M.M. Aduenturers, and their Trade, thereby finallie intendinge to disturbe the peace of the whole Realme. At length, when all men expected nothing else but an abolishment and dissolving of the abouesaid Companie, as the sole and onely cause of all this griefe, the setting vp of the Steelyarde againe, and the equalling of all the subiectes and others in the Realme, in transporting and carying out of Clothe, none of all these thinges fell out, but to the contrarie those of the said Companie were sent for, and after they had been heard,

Complaint of the wool growers and Clothiers for want of Trade.

and had made knowen the true cause of the abouesaid soare in deed, they were willed to proceed in their Trade, with promise of assistence and countenaunce from my Lordes and others of the Counseill; which assuredlie their Honors would not haue donne, if that they had seene that the late innovation or libertie had brought foorth or was likelie to bring foorth the promised effect, or that without the saide Companie of M.M. Adventurers so great a quantitie of the Woollen commodities of the Realm could be vented as in former tymes, when the saide M.M. Adventurers were mainteyned and backed in their full Priviledges and Rightes. . . .

Nowe, although I hope by this tyme it sufficientlie appeareth that the gouuerned and well ordered trade of the M.M. Adventurers Companie is farre to bee preferred before a dispersed, stragling and promiscuous trade, so that it needeth no further proofe or demonstration, yet because some men holde this to be against the libertie of the subiect, and thinke that the Adventurers by their orders restraine or limite the Clothe Market at home, it shalbe necessarie for these mens satisfaction also to saye something further of this matter. . . . I pray you, let vs see what would followe, if these men had that which they so much desire, and contende for; surelie nothing else then that whiche hetherto we haue seene to haue fallen out. . . . For example: the Englishe had at the *Narue* in *Liefland* a profitable Trade and good sales for their Countrie commoditie a good while together, till at length in the yeare 1565, a number of stragling Merchauntes resorting thether out of this Realm, the trade was vtterlie spoiled; in so much that many of them went about the Towne with Clothe vpon their armes and measures in their handes, and solde the same by the *Arsine*, a measure of that Countrie, to the great embasing of that excellent Commoditie, the discredite of our Nation, and the finall enpouerishing and vndoing of manie of the said straglers; which being made knowen to her Maiestie and her Highnes right Honourable priuie Counsell, order was taken at the next Parleament, that the Town of *Narve* should bee comprized within the Charter of the *Muscovie* Companie, to prevent the like pedlar-like kinde of dealing euer after, and the makinge vile of the principallest commoditie of the Realme. . . .

The pedlar like dealing of the English straglers at the Narve.

Here it may be obiected, that the more buyers there are, the quicker sales and higher pryces, and therfore if all others, as well as the Merchantes Adventurers, might transporte Clothe, the more would be solde, and the prices would be the higher. To this I haue sufficientlie aunswered before and proued the contrarie by experience, fetched from the 29th yeare of her Maiesties Raigne, when as all, both English and straungers, that would, were by letters patentes . . . enabled to buye and transporte English Clothe; and for that the Charter of the Citie of London should not be in the way or an hinderaunce heerevnto (by reason that vnfree men are therby restrained from buying and selling within the saide Cittie, and that the ordinarie markett-place at that time for Clothe was in Blackwellhall), the signe of the *George* at *Westminster* in the Kings-streat was appointed a market place for such Clothiers to resorte vnto as would take the libertie of the aforesaide Letters patentes. But what followed thereof? I could neuer yet learne that one wayn load of Clothe was vnladen at the said place, neither that the Steelyarde Merchauntes, nor anie of her Maiesties subiectes so enabled, as aforesaid, did euer take benefite by the same for fourtie Clothes; one man yet liuing onely excepted, who since (as I haue heard) hath often protested that in buying 200 Clothes he lost a good summe of his principall, and no mervaile; seeing those who had serued and had been brought vp in the trade of a Merchant Adventurer manie yeares together could hardlie make one of one, such was the longesomenes of Returne and the badnes of the tyme at that instant, thorough the coniunction of manie difficulties not heere inserted, besides those which haue been aboue touched. So that, not the want of buyers was the cause of the complaint of want of worke and trade at that time, but rather the aboue said causes. For it is very well knowen that the Companie of M.M. Adventurers is sufficient and able enough, and ouer many to buy vp and vent all that Cloth, and those sortes of woollen commoditie made and endraped within the Realme, wherewith they vsuallie deale, . . . for they are not so fewe as 3500 persons in number enhabiting London, and sundrie Cities and partes of the Realm, especially the townes that lye convenientlie for the sea; of whiche a verie

3500 Freemen of the Companie of M.M. Adventurers.

great manie vse not the trade, for that it suffiseth not for all, but are constrayned to get their liuing by some other meanes: and to the ende that those which are traders may be equally and indifferentlie cared and soried for, and that the wealthie and richer sorte with their great purses may not engrosse the whole commoditie into their owne handes and so haue all, and some neuer a whitt, there is a stint and reasonable proportion allotted and sett by an auncient order and manner, what quantitie either at once, or by the yeare, euery man may shippe out or transporte, which he is not to goe beyonde, or exceed. Which whole stint and proportion, if it were shipped or transported out of the lande, would amounte vnto yearelie the double quantitie of all the Clothe of those sortes made in the Realme, whiche the M.M. Adventurers deale in; whereby it is euident that this stinting is not a restraint or limitation of the Cloth markett (as some of late haue misconceiued), but rather, an œconomicall and discreete partition or approportioning, amonge the members and Brethren of the Companie, of the commodities and benefites of the same: so that the wealthier sort are not forgotten, but withall are kept from engrossinge the whole trade contrarie to the vse and maner of a well ordered common wealth or familie, wherein all are prouided for, and not some starued for want, whilest others are swollen vp to the eyes with fatt, and plentie. *For it is merie in Hall, where beards wagge all*, according to that olde right Englishe Prouerbe of our Auncestours. . . .

That the Navigation of the Realme is mainteyned and advaunced by the Companie of the Merchants Adventurers.

Since the erection of the Companie of Merchauntes Adventurers, and of other Companies trading *Russia*, *Eastlande*, *Spaine*, *Turkie*, &c., the Navigation of the Realme is merveilouslie encreased in number of good shippinge, and of able and skilfull Maisters and Mariners, in so much that, whereas within these threeskore yeares there were not aboue foure shippes, besides those of her Maiesties Navie Roiall, aboue the burthen of one hundred and twentie tonnes, within the Riuer of *Thamis*, there are now at this daye to be founde pertayning to London, and other

places lying vpon the saide Riuer, a great number of very large and serviceable Merchaunt shippes, fitt as well for the defence of the Realme (if need were) as for trafficque, whereof a good parte are sett on worke by the saide Companie of M.M. Aduenturers. The reason wherof is that this and other Companies, transporting at once, or at one instant, a great quantitie of goodes . . . doe goe in Fleetes, or with great and warlike vesselles, well furnished . . . so that since the troubles began with Spaine not one shippe sett out by the Companie of M.M. Adventurers hath been taken by the enemie; whereas the single Merchaunt, goeing where and when he listeth, and not able to sett a good shippe on worke, casteth how to come of good cheape, and either shippeth in straungers, or provideth him selfe of small vessels and pinkes to serue his turne for small quantitie of wares, and fitt to flie or runne awaye, if he should chaunce to meet with the enemie, and yet he is many times snapped vp, and made a pray to the Dunkerkers, and other sea rovers. . . .

That the Queenes Customes and Incomes are augmented by the maynteyning of the Companie of Merchantes Adventurers.

. . . It followeth necessarilie that their saide vnited trade is more advantageable, and yeeldeth more ample and certayne profite and encrease to her Highnes Customes, then a single, stragling or loose trade by anie meanes can doe. The Custome also, which the said Companie payeth, commeth in yearlie, and at certain times in round summes and payementes . . . whereas the paymentes of the single Merchants come in by driblettes and small parcelles. And heervnto the good orders of the saide Companie are no small helpe, especiallie in transportation or shipping outwardes, for that the most parte of the Commodities which the Merchauntes Adventurers carie out of the Realme, beeing shipped in appointed shippes at *London*, the saide Companie haue there certaine overseers, by whose order and appointment they shippe that which they shippe; and when the goods ariue on the other side of the seas, there are also officers

who attend and take view of the Packes, Fardells, and other parcelles of commoditie landed, presenting and enforming of such, which they finde to haue shipped in other maner then was appointed them to shippe, or not to haue entred and paid their Custome and dewties rightlie to her Maiestie, who are subiect to great penalties and forfeitures for the same. This course, deuised for the better collection of an Imposition leuied by the Companie vpon Clothe and other thinges for the maintenance and vpholding of the saide Companie, doeth not only the better make knowen vnto them, but also vnto her Highes officers of the Customehouse, what euery man shippeth away, so that by this meanes the Custome is the truelier and fuller payed; whereas the stragler, shipping his Clothe and other commoditie in couert maner, hugger mugger, and at obscure portes, hath more aduantage and meanes to defraude her Maiestie of her dewties and rightes then those which shippe at *London* and other great Porte Townes, either by false entryes, colouring of strangers goodes, and corrupting the Customers and other officers, who, for the most parte, being needie persons in those small and remote Portes of the Realm, are more ready to take rewards and closelier may doe it, then the officers of the Customes at the Porte of London; to saye nothing of the greate quantitie of foreigne wares brought into the Realme by the M.M. Adventurers, the Custom whereof is better and trulier paide then if the stragler or straunger had the importation or payement thereof, or of the like quantitie; and if the Recordes were searched, no doubt but it would so be founde. For it was not without some cause that heeretofore we haue seene so great fraternitie, familiaritie, kindnes, and inward friendshippe betweene the Officers for her Maiesties Customes and straungers, and that the said Officers, aboue all others, nowe wishe them againe so hartilie, and call so lowd for them. . . . As for those Strangers who haue termed the Companie of M.M. Adventurers *A Private, Particulare, and Preventing Companie* . . . if it bee so, as these Customers say, they haue thereby well shewed their skill in *P.P.* and that they are not only straungers to our State and common Wealth, but withall privie vndermyners and maligners of the good therof: and let

Customers of the out-Portes bacbyte the M.M. Adventurers.

these Customers, while they warne other men, be wise and warned them selues also, least by their too too [*sic*] much leaning vnto and favouringe of such Straungers, they prooue not in the ende badd Customers to her Maiestie, and consequentlie corrupt and vnnaturall members of their Countrie and State; and withall let them vnderstande and be well assured that the M.M. Adventurers both know and regarde the essentiall partes, groundes and pillers of Trafficque, and of olde tyme haue put them in practise, and yet at this day doe quietlier, better and certainlier obserue and mainteyne them then the Customers of the out Portes (I feare me) doe their office. Lastlie, where they saye that the M.M. Adventurers, by a bare and idle pretence of the woord *Order*, and Orderlie transporting of the Credit and cream of the Lande (*Clothe*), haue brought the trade thereof to a kinde of Confusion, and them selues into such a Laberinth, that besides the distress of the Clothiers with all their dependentes, and generall complaintes at home (to their Honourable Lordshippes endles offence, and trouble at the Councell table), the commoditie it self is empaired, abased, and in a sorte dispised, etc. Surely either their intelligence hath deceiued them, or they shew them selues to be caried with a malicious spirite; for who knoweth not that the Trade of the M.M. Adventurers is not in a bare or idle pretence and shew, but in very deed the most orderly and best framed trade that may be? True it is that some straungers and others (possibly of these Customers Familiars and Friends) haue by open and couert means at home and abroad endevoured and done their best to bringe the saide Trade to some notable confusion, and those of the Companie into a laberinthe, to the empairing and embasing in deed of the commoditie of the land, but, thankes be to God, and our alwayes gracious Ladie and Queen they haue not had their willes, neither shall they (I hope) though these od Customers took parte with them neuer so much; and therefore they may well holde their Clack. . . .

But, because I haue often made mention of the *Hanses* in this discourse, it shall not by the way bee amisse to shewe what these *Hanses* are, and what hath passed between this State and them in man's memorie.

[Relates in detail the history of the Hanse towns and their relations with England, down to the publication in 1597 of the Emperor's mandate forbidding the Merchant Adventurers to trade within the Empire, and the counter-edict of Queen Elizabeth prohibiting the Hanses' trade in England.

Original of the Hanses and their doings in England.

The causes of the Emperor's mandate were, first, the taking away of the Easterlings' privileges in England; secondly, the doings of the English men of war at sea; thirdly, the monopoly used by the Merchant Adventurers.]

Defence of the M.M. Adventurers against the Hanses slaunder of Monopolie.

[That] the third cause . . . is . . . a false and iniurious slaunder and surmize, needeth none other demonstration then the true sence and definition of the woorde *Monopolie* it selfe: *Quum Monopolium sit quando vnus solus aliquod genus mercaturae vniuersum emit, vt solus suo arbitrio vendat.* *Monopolie* is when one man alone buyeth vp all that is to bee gott of one kinde of Merchandise, to the end that he alone may sell at his owne lust and pleasure. Which, well considered, hath no communion or agreement with the trade and practice of the Companie of M.M. Adventurers; and the Townes where the saide companie haue resided, or are resident in at this day, doe knowe and can witnesse that those of the saide Companie haue vsed and doe vse an honest, vpright and lawfull trade. . . . Neither haue the Adventurers the sole transporte and trade inwardes and outwardes of Englishe Clothe and other Wares, but it is well knowen and notorious that all the Members of the *Hanses*, and not onely they but also all the subiectes of Vpper and low Germanie, and all other straungers in league and amitie with the Crowne of England, may and doe at their libertie and pleasure buye and cary out of the Realme al sortes of Clothe and Englishe wares, and may and doe bring in and sell their own countrie commodities without empeachment or hinderance, payinge such dewties and customes as they ought to paye. Besides, there are diuerse other Companies of Merchauntes who are priviledged to transporte Cloth, etc., out of the lande into foreigne partes and Cuntries, as well as the Companie of M.M. Adventurers, which they doe in great quantitie. Moreouer, the Companie of M.M. Adventurers hath no banke nor common stocke, nor common Factour to buye or sell for the whole Companie, but

euery man tradeth a-part and particularlie with his owne stocke, and with his owne Factour or servaunt.

. . . Concerning that which they alleadge, that the said companie haue their Gouuernement and officers, keepe Courtes and Assemblies, make lawes, impose mulctes and penalties, and shippe at sett tymes and with appointed Fleetes, out of which they would inferre a Monopolie; it needeth none other aunswear then I haue alreadie made in this treatise, wherein is truelie and plainly declared the practice and manner of the Companie of Merchants Aduenturers in all the abouesaide pointes, and withall shewed the good that commeth to the State and common Wealth thereby, and howe farre it is out of the compasse of *Monopolie*. . . . Besides, it is more then straunge that the *Hanses* haue the face to condemne that in others as vnlawful and Monopolish which them selues both in Englande and euery where else where they now haue or haue had their Residence or Counters continually practised: for who knoweth not that they had their Aldermen or Consuls, Treasurers, Secretaries, Assistentes and other officers, and kept their meetinges, Courtes and Assemblies and used Merchantes law among them selues? And if it were lawfull and free for them so to doe, why may it not be as lawfull and free for the M.M. Adventurers to doe the like? But (say the Hanses) the Merchants Aduenturers in their Courtes doe sett the prices of their own Wares and of other mens, ordayning not to sell or buye otherwise, or at other rates or prices, which is plaine *Monopolie:* this how true it is, I appeale to the consciences of the verie *Hanses* them selues, and of all other Merchauntes with whom the saide Companie doe deale, whether this be a trueth, yea or no. Besides I may boldlie and with a good conscience affirme that neither I in all the time of my seruice, neither the oldest man living in the said Companie, can saye that euer it was knowen or heard that any such matter of setting pryce was once mentioned in any Court, or assemblie of the said Companie: neither in deed was there euer any such matter, but every man rather studyeth to keepe his feat and trade as secrete to him selfe as he can, for feare of his fellow, least being espied, it might be taken out of his handes: and further, it is a thing abhorred and condemned by the lawes of

the Realme, and therefore, if the Companie of M.M. Adventurers could euer haue been iustlie accused of the said cryme, they should not haue escaped so longe without deserued punishment. Lastlie, the verie state and policie of the said Companie cannot abide or brooke anie Monopolie as being directlie and *ex diametro* contrarie and an ouerthrowe to that *Oeconomie*, so carefullie prouided for and preserued by the good lawes and orders of the said Companie; whereby there is a distribution of the benefites and commodities of the Companie to all the members of the same, so much as is possible with great prouidence and equitie ordained, so that euery man that will or is able may participate thereof, so farre as they will extende. Whereas, if it were otherwise, the meaner sort should not be able to liue by the richer, for these in short tyme would with their great purses and meanes drawe all the trade inwardes and outwardes into their own handes, and (as vpon the Bankers in some places) all mens credites should depend vpon their sleeues, as hauing power to giue credite to whom they list, to sell or keepe vp their wares at their pleasure, and to rule the markettes as they thinke good; whereby it would come to passe that a fewe shall gaine and growe mightie and exceeding wealthie, and all the rest shall haue nothing to doe, and in short time be brought to extreeme miserie and pouertie: but the gouerned trade of the saide Companie is heere in the way, so that you see how farre it is from trueth, or likelihood of trueth, which is obiected against the Companie of Merchant Adventurers on this behalfe. . . .

Testimonie of strangers and whole Citties on the Companies behalf against the slaunder of Monopolie.

[He quotes the testimony of the Senate of Hamburg, of Edgard, Earl of East Friesland, and of the towns of Embden, Antwerp, etc., also letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor]; whereby I doubt not but al the world may perceiue that the Imputation of *Monopolie* to the Companie of M.M. Adventurers is but a malicious, iniurious, and altogether false slaunder, deuized by the *Hanses* (as I saide before) to drawe the Emperour and Princes of Germanie to assist them in the obtaynnge of their vniust pretences and unreasonable demaundes in England.

That the Maintenance of the Fellowshippe of Marchantes Adventurers hath been and is for the Honour and seruice of the Prince and State at home and abroad.

All that which hath been afore at large sett down tendeth in effect to the proofe of this point. . . . Besides all this, some of the Princes of this lande haue knowen so well howe to vse this Companie, and to make their vttermost benefite of them, that besides that the said Companie haue at sundrie times vpon vrgent occasions giuen their credites for the loanes of great summes of monie beyond the seas, for the seruice of the State, diuerse of the Gouuernours and others of the said Companie haue in particulare not been wanting, according to their dewtie, to doe their Prince good and commendable seruice many times in the affaires of the State. Further, at the change of Princes and receyuing in of new, at triumphes for victories, and Coronations, the said Companie haue not forgott the honour of their Prince and Cuntrie, but haue spent and laid out great summes of monie this way, so that at some one Princes receyuing in they haue consumed aboue twoo thousande Frenche Crownes in shewe or triumphal Arches, and namelie of the late King *Phillipe* of *Spaine*, at his entrie into the Cittie of *Antwerpe* in September 1549; . . . besides that Maister Iohn Sturgeon, at that tyme Gouuernour of the Companie, was at the receyuing in of the said Prince accompanied with thirtie Merchantes of the Companie on horseback all in a liuerie of Purple veluit in grain coates, and paned hose embrodered full of siluer waues like the waues of the sea; their Dublettes and drawinge out of their hose purple sattin, their Hattes of purple veluit with golde bandes, faire brouches, and white feathers; and each of them a chain of golde about his neck of great valew; buskins of purple velvitt; their Rapiers, Daggers, Spurres, Stirropps and Bridles all gilt; the furniture of their horses was of purple veluit, Sadles and Trappinges, etc., embrodered with golde, and green silke and white, and green feathers on their horse heades: they were attended with three skore Lackies, apparailed in white veluitt ierkins cutt, embrodered with siluer twist, green sattin dublettes, with hose and buskins of the same,

purple veluitt Cappes, and green Feathers: behinde them roade the abouesaid Gouernour vpon a white English gelding, in a longe purple veluitt gowne, lyned with purple sattin, a black velvitt coat, and cappe with a fair brouche therein, and a chain of golde about his neck; his Dublett and Hose, with the trappinges of his Horse, were as the other of his Companie wore; he was attended on by six Lackies on foot, and three Pages on horseback apparailed as aforesaid. In which their doeing they shewed themselues for the honour of their Prince and Cuntrye nothing inferiour to the Merchantes of other nations . . . and surmounting some of them in costly apparaile, furniture of themselues and their horses, and in other preparation to entertaine the said Prince, whereby they wanne great honour and commendation to themselues and the whole Englishe name: to say nothinge of the late Duke of *Alansons* entertainment into the said cittie of *Antwerp* in the yeare 1581, at which time Maister *Christopher Hoddesdonne*, then and nowe Gouernour, receiued the saide Duke with four skore Merchantes of the saide Companie, all on horseback in very seemly and decent sorte, apparailed in blacke veluitt, and most of them with chains of golde about their neckes; for the which the saide Gouernour and Companie receiued thankes and commendation from her Maiestie and the Lordes of the Counceill. . . . In deedes of Pietie and Charitie they haue not also been wanting, as well appeared by the foundinge of Chappelles in olde time at *Bridges* and *Middelbrough*, and since in mainteyning the exercise of Religion amongst them in all the places of their residence hetherto, yea euen amonge those who could not well away with the same; as also by their Christianlike care and prouision for the poore, the comfort whereof many a distressed persone, souldiers and mariners, etc., of our Nation haue found and daily finde; besides their liberalitie is knowen to a great manie who heretofore haue tasted the same, especially those who haue and doe receiue yearely pentions from them. . . . And when for the defence of the Realme shippes haue been to bee made out, it hath cost them notable summes of money, as by their accomptes thereof doeth appeare: all which could not haue been done but by men vnited into a Societie or Companie, as would bee too

too evident if once all were sett at libertie, as some would haue it. . . .

All which I doubt not will be well considered of and waighed by her Excellent Maiestie, and those whiche vnder her Highnes haue the ordering and gouuernement of the affaires and state of this noble Realme, that so the common wealth may prosper and encrease in honour and flourishing estate, and that those which trauaile and take paines to this ende, and haue from tyme to tyme been found profitable members, may be cherished and mainteyned in their well doeinge and encouraged to proceede, by vouchsaufing them gracious countenance and favourable ayde and assistance in their causes, and by vpholding them in the full and quiet fruition and vse of their Priviledges, Charters and Rightes . . . to the high Honour of her Maiestie and the generall good of this Realme, as I hope in this treatise to haue plainlie and euidentlie prooued, to the reasonable satisfaction of all that loue not nouelties, or haue no outlandishe appetites. . . .

SECTION III.—HIGH PRICES, USURY AND THE EXCHANGES.

1. THEORIES AS TO THE HIGH PRICES IN 1549 AND IN 1581.

[A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, ed. E. Lamond (1893), pp. 69, 80-82, 104-105, 186-88. This famous treatise was in all probability written by John Hales in 1549; it was first printed in 1581, with a dedication by W. S., who also made a number of alterations in the text, and to whom the authorship was for long attributed. This W. S. was probably William Smith, the nephew of Sir Thomas Smith.]

(1) *John Hales on the high prices in* 1549.

Doctor. . . . And now I must come to that thinge . . . which I take to be the cheife cause of all this dearth of thinges, and of the manifest imporishment of this Realme, and might in breife time be the distruction of the same, yf it be not the rathere remedyede, that is the basinge or rather corruptinge of oure coine and treasure; whearbie we haue devised a waie for the straungers not onlie to bie oure gould and silver for brasse, and not onlie to exhauste this Realme of treasure, but also to bie our cheife commodities in manor for nothinge. It was thought it should haue bene a meane, not onlie to bringe oure treasure home, but to bringe muche of others; but the experience hathe so plainlie declared the contrarie, as it weare a verie dullardes part to be in dowbt therof. . . . For we must bie deare all thinges brought from beyonde the seas, and therfore we must sell againe as deare oure thinges, or els we should make ill bargaines for oure selves. And thoughe that reason makes it plaine, yet experience makethe it plainer; for wheare youe saie that everie thinge brought beyond the sea is commonly dearer by the third part

then it was, Doe ye not see the same proportion raised in oure wares, yf it be not more, yea in the olde coine it self? Is not the angell that was before but xx^{tie} grotes, now at xxx^{tie}, and so all other old coine after the same rate? But I thincke theare is no more silver given in the xxx^{tie} grotes then was before in xx^{tie}, yf it be so much. And so I thincke, settinge oure coine apart, that we shall haue as muche silke, wines or oyles from beyonde the seas for oure todde of woll now as we might haue had before the alteration of this coine.

Merchaunte. I would vndertake to serve youe so.

Knight. What losse haue we by this, when we sell oure commodities as deare as we bie theres?

Doctor. I graunte, to one sort of men I count it no losse; yea to some other, gaines more then losse; but yet to some other a greater losse then it is proffitt to thother; yea, generally to the impoverishinge of the Realme, and the weakeninge of the kinges maiesties power excedinglie.

Knight. I praie youe, what be these sortes that yow meane; and first, of those that ye thincke haue no losse therby?

Doctor. I meane all those that live by byinge and sellinge; for as they bie deare, so they sell theareafter.

Knight. What is the next sort that ye saie winnes by it?

Doctor. Marie, all such as haue takinges, or farmes in theire owne maintenaunce, at the olde rent; for wheare they paie after the old rate, they sell after the new; that is, they paie for theire land good cheape, and sell all thinges growinge therof deare.

Knight. What sorte is that which youe said had greater losse theareby then those men had proffitte?

Doctor. It is all noble men, and gentlemen, and all other that live by a stinted rent, or stipend, or doe not maner the grounde, or doe occupie no byinge or sellinge.

Knight. I praie youe, pervse those sortes as youe did [the other], one by one, and by cours.

Doctor. I will gladly. First, the noblemen and gentlemen live for the most on the yearly revennewes of the landes and fees given them of the kinge. Then ye knowe, he that maie spend 300 *li.* a yeare by such revennewes and fees may kepe no etter porte then his father, or anie other befo re him, that could

spend but 200 $^{li.}$ And so ye maie perceaue, it is a great abatment of a mans countenaunce to take awaie the third part of his livinge. And therfore gentlemen doe so much studie the Increase of theire landes, enhauncinge of theire rentes, and so take farmes and pastures into theire owne handes, as ye se they doe; and also to seke to maintaine theire countenaunce, as theire prodecessors did, and yet they come short thearin. Other, seinge the charges of howsehold so muche as by no provision they can make can be holpen, they give over theire howseholdes, and get theim chambers in London, or abowte the courte; and theare spend theire time, some of theim with a servaunte or ij, wheare he was wounte to kepe xxx^{tie} or xl^{tie} persons daily in his howse, and to doe good in the countrie, in kepinge good order and rule amonge his neighboures. The other sorte be, everie servinge man and men of warre, that havinge but theire old stinted wages, can not finde theim selves therwith as they might afore time, without Ravine or spoile. Ye know vj $^{d.}$ a daie will not now goe so far as iiij $^{d.}$ would afore time; and thearfore ye haue men so vnwillinge to serve the kinge now a daies, from that they weare wounte to be; also wheare xl$^{s.}$ a yeare was good honest wages for a yeoman afore this tyme, and xx$^{d.}$ a wekes borde wages was sufficient, nowe double as much will scant beare theire charges. . . .

. . . . . .

And thus, to conclude, I thinke this alteration of the coyne to be the first originall cause that straungers first selles theire wares dearer to vs; and that makes all fermors and tennauntes, that rerethe any commoditie, agayne to sell the same dearer; the dearthe therof makes the gentlemen to rayse theire rents, and to take farmes into theire handes for the better provision, and consequently to inclose more groundes.

Knight. Now what remedie for all these thinges? . . . I praye youe, tell playnly youre devise; what causes are these that ye would haue taken away, and howe these thinges may be remedied.

Doctor. I will, vnder protestation that if ye like it not, ye doe tell youre fantasies to it, and doe reiect it; if ye like it, or anie parte thearof, vse it at youre pleasure. I meane (quod he) that all

the coyne nowe curraunte shoulde be after a certayne day not currant, but as men list to take theim, after the estimation of the stuffe; and the olde coyne or new, after like value and quantitie and names, to be only from thence curraunt; and so the coyne throughly restored to the old rate and goodnes. . . .

[Here follows a long discussion of the principles to be followed in the restoration of the coinage. In the 1581 edition W. S. omits this section, from the knight's question 'Now what remedie for all these thinges?' to the end of the discussion on the coinage, and substitutes the passage which follows.]

(2) *W. S. on the same in* 1581.

Knight. If this [i.e. the debasement of the coinage] were the chiefest cause of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maister Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it should seeme to be: how commeth it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be remoued, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long sithence our english coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princesse which now raigneth) hath bene again throughly restored to his former purity and perfection?

Doctor. In deede, sir, I must needes confesse vnto you (although it may seeme at the first sighte to discredite my former sayinges in some parte) that notwithstanding that our Coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceded of the decay therof, to [*sic*, do] remayne and continue still amongst vs. Wherefore as your doubte herein moued very aptly, and to the purpose, is well worthy the consideration: so doe I accompte it of such difficulty, that perhaps it would not be thought to stande wyth modesty, to vndertake without farther study presently to dissolue the same.

Knight. Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I vnderstand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of sufficient store (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then these.

Doctor. Well, I am content (because you wyll haue it so) to yeelde to your importunity. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder protestation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne Phantasies and Iudgmentes in the same. I fynde therefore two speciall causes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding that restitution made in our coin, the aforesayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age) remayneth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the tyme of kyng Henry the eight, the prices of all things generally among al sortes of people rose: it must needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen which liued onely vpon the reuenues of their lands were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof, then any other, of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being taken as most true, the Gentlemen, desirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out the Porte of theyr Predecessours, were driuen of necessity as often as whensoeuer any Leases deuised for terme of yeares, by themselues or their Auncestors, were throughly expyred and fel into theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old: Yea, this rackynge and hoyssing vp of Rentes hath continued euer since that tyme, vntill this present day: Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and so continueth vnto this day), to sel his Victayles dearer, and to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other artificers withall to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares; wherefore as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefest efficient cause: so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and so forwarde, partely to the racked and stretched rentes which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, and so are like to continue I knowe not how long. Now if we would in these our dayes haue the olde pennyworthes generally restored among vs agayne, the restoring of our good Coine, which allready is past, and before the improued rentes would only of it selfe haue ben sufficient to haue brought this

matter to passe, will not serue in these our dayes, except withall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which possibly cannot be without the common consent of our landed men throughout the whole realme. Another reason I conceiue in this matter, to be the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these partes of the world, far more in these our dayes, then euer our forefathers haue sene in times past. Who doth not vnderstand of the infinite sums of gold and siluer, whych are gathered from the Indies and other countries, and so yearely transported vnto these costes? As this is otherwise most certain, so doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men liuing in these daies. It is their constant report, that in times past, and within the memory of man, he hath beene accoumpted a rich and wealthy man, and well able to keepe house among his neighbors, which (all things discharged) was clearely worth xxx or xl *li.*; but in these our dayes the man of that estimation is so far (in the common opinion) from a good houskeeper, or man of wealth, that he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore these ii reasons seemed vnto me to contain in them sufficient probability for causes of the continuaunce of this generall dearth.

Knight. Yea, but (sir) if the increase of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth; then by likelyhood in other our neighbors nations, vnto whom yearely is conuayghed great store of gold and siluer, the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like sort, is raysed according to the increase of their treasure?

Doctor. It is euen so, and therefore to vtter freely myne Opinion, as I accoumpt it a matter very hard, for the difficulties aboue rehersed, to reuoke or call backe agayne al our Englishe wares vnto their old pryces: so doe I not take it to be either profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straungers and theirs on the other side deare vnto vs: which could not be without great impouerishinge of the Common weale, in a very short time.

2. "POLICES TO REDUCE THIS REALME OF ENGLANDE VNTO A PROSPERUS WEALTHE AND ESTATE," 1549.

[Goldsmiths' Library (University of London), MS. No. 10. The punctuation of the original has been retained.]

The contentes of the Chapititers.

Wherin the Floreshinge estate of A Realme consisteth.	Capitulo primo:
One of the Cheifiste Causes whie euery thinge is now so Deare, with the remedi therfor.	Capitulo: Secundo:
Certen other generall Cawses whie euery thinge is nowe so deare, with the Remedi therfor.	Capitulo: Tercio:
The means to cause mouche Bullion to be brought frome be yonde the Sees vnto the kinges myntes: wherby his maiestie maye Be wonderfull enriched with out eney empouerishene of his Realme.	Capitulo: quarto
That our newe Coynes be nott counterfait in foren Realmes.	Capitulo: quinto:
The means to cause mouche wares to be yerly carryede forthe of this Realme.	Capitulo: Sexto:
That husbande men do nott hereafter gyve ouer Tillage in plentifull yeres.	Capitulo Septimo
The means to cause maney kindes of Wares to be Wrought with in the Realme which here to fore were wonte to be wrought in other Realmes and brought hither.	Capitulo octauo
The remedi to cause as mouche fishe to be spente in the realme as ther was wont to be eney tyme here to fore.	Capitulo Nono:
One other provision to make more plenty of vitall.	Capitulo: Decimo
A breif Resitall of the chief effectes of this Boke.	Capitulo: Vndecimo:

The preface.

To the right Excellent Prince the Lorde Proctectors grace.

If yt shall please your moste noble grace to considre howe many Statutes have heretofore bene made in the Parliament howse fore the redresse and amendement of the Publicke Weall of this realme, and how littell the State therof haue bene therby reformed, your grace shall easly perceve that likeas we suffer our selfes to be ignorant of the trewe worshipping of god: Even so god kepte frome vs the right knowledge how to reforme those inconveniences which we did see before our eyes to tende vnto the vtter Desolation of the Realme. But now that the trew worshepping of gode is by the vertuous enclination of the kinges maiestie and by the godly Dilligens of your grace So puerly and sincerely sett forthe it is like wise to be trusted that god of a boundant mercifullnes towardes vs will vse the kinges maiestie and your grace to be also his ministres in plauking vppe by the rottes all the Cawses and occasions of this foresaid Decaye and Desolacion: And althought I do right well perceve that your grace hath no les knowledge in godli pollices for the reforming of the miserable estate of this realme then your grace have good zeale to the setting forthe of godes worde, Yet for asmouche as I haue heretofore gyve[n] my Dilligence for the space of these iiij or v yeres to note and observe the present state of this wealth and Realme with all the Cawses and occasions bothe of the wealthe and of the Miseries in the same, I thought goode to compare souche thinges as I haue noted in to a littell boke, and to Dedicate it vnto your highnes trusting that your goode grace which haue bine alwaies wonte to interpret thinges indifferent in to the beste parte will not miscontrive this mi pore service, for I my selfe am a man that have a howsholde and some servuntes vndre me, and althoughe I with a littell seking can easely fynde enye thing that I wolde haue, Yet do I well allowe his service which Layethe those that I sholde occupie reddy at my hande, and as I truste your grace will accepte my goode will in good parte: So am I certen that ther be manye men which if the knew this littell boke to be my device wolde binde themselfes as mouche as lieth in them to deprave it: For it is naturally gyven vnto all men to

fantesie ther owne inventions and to finde faute with other mens: Even as thoughe the estimacion of the wisdome were in daynger to be claane loste excepte they cane seke oute some thinge in a nother mans device to finde faute with: But I most hartelly and vmble desier your grace that non opinion nor Device in this littell boke be condemned nor rei[e]cted vntill I haue bine harde answer vnto the abiections which shalbe made to the contrary: For he that dothe affeccionat to be brieff (as I am Dryven to be) for feare least your highnes wolde not elles vouchesafe to reade ouer my boke cannot declare euery thinge so planlye as he maye which dothe debate his matters and tarry longe vpon every poynte: Iff I shall perceave your highnes to be herewith pleased, I shall hereafter god geving me quietnes present your grace with the residew of my Studye and Labors in this behalfe, wherein your highnes shall well perceve, that althoughe my witt and power be but smalle yett my good will and dilligens shall not lacke towardes the furtheraunce of souche thinges as shoulde be to your grate honour: which I beseche god dayly to encreas:

Wherein the flourеshi[n]g State of a Realme consisteth. Capitulo Primo:

Seinge that the hole porpose and effecte of this littell boke is to Declare the means and polices howe to reduce this Realme to a prosperus and floreshing estate. It is requisite that fyrste of all I Declare wherin the Floreshing estate of a realme consisteth. And surely in my Judgement it consisteth cheifly in being stronge against thinvasion of eneymies, not molested with cyvile warres *the people being wealthie,*[1] and not oppressid with famyn nor penury of victualles. for no man will caule that a flouresshing realme which being not able to kepe oute their eneymies haue ther countries envaded, ther landes wasted, ther Townes Burned, ther Children and Kinsefoke put to thunmercifull swerde of ther enemies, But whan souche cruell thinges happeyneth by cruell Discorde betwein countriman and countriman within the Bowelles of a realme, it is mouche more pernicious and vnnaturall: But admit that a Realme be neyther molested with the invason of

[1] The words in italics are underlined in the original.

foren enemies nor yet trobled with Civill warrs, yet is it not worthie to be cawled a floureshinge realme yf the most parte of the persons and people lyve in extreme pouertie. victuall being alwaies at so hieghe price that in those yeres in which Corne dothe mystake in eney thing, or Cattell chaunce neuer so littell thorrowe morren or other incessions to Die, a great nombre of the people shalbe in dainger of famyne, And the strengthe of a realme againste thinvasion of enemies, consistethe in having a Noble kinge and good maiestiattes, the king having alwaies sufficient of Treasur to mentaigne warres a gainste his eneymies the realme being thorroulie inhabited with people, the People being obeydient to the kinges maiestie, and to the mayestrates in the kinges behalfe: but alas that singler commoditie, wher with god hathe endued this Realme especially aboue all other; ys now like to tourne vnto our destruction: For the fynes of our woll hathe heretofore of late beine thoccasion that Divers men of power have mentaigned ther shipe to gette the pore men oute of ther howses: and oute of all that euer they have hade. Yet it ought to be considred that the mighty force of our eneymies cannot be resistede with Shippe be ther woll neuer so fyne: But in the multitude of people is the state of a kinge: and in the Fewnes of Subiectes is the princes dishonour sayeth Salamon in his proverbs: Lykewise the wise Phillosopher Pithagoras saithe that the subiectes ar to a kinge as a winde is to a fyer: For the grosher that the winde is: the greatter is the Fier. Seinge thane that the prosperus state of this realme consistethe in thes thinges before rehersid: I entende fyrste to declare how this realme (god being praysede) may be made Populus, the people wealthie the kinge riche the Realme withoute Cyvill Discorde: vitall plenty. And all other thinges at the price they were commonlie at xxth or xxxth yeres paste: Althought this entreprice semethe to be greate, and the thinge very Difficulte to be brought to pase, considering the wonderfull highe price that vitall and other thinges is alredy rysen vnto, Yet I moste hartelly desier your grace and all other to whome the pervsing of this boke shall chaunc to be committede: that you defere your Jvdgement herin vntill ye shall have thorrowly herde and perceyved my hole entente and

meaning: and I doubte not but that when my meaninge herein shalbe thorrowly perceyvede: Ye shall also perceve that all these thinges before namide. be not only possible but also facill and eaysie to be brought to pase: And considre well that it muste alwayes be founde trewe which was spoken by Salamon in the xth chappiter of his proverbes, whan the Juste ar in auctorryte the Citty prosperith: But when the vngodly have the rule it decayethe: But to returne a gayne to my former purpose: For as mouche as the highe price of all thinges is not only the greateste matter that the people grudge at: and one of the principall oucasion of pouertye and faymine: but also the cheyfiste cawse that the kinges maiestie cannot without expence of wonderfull great sommes of money menteigne his warres a gainste his eneymies: therfor I purpose fyrste to Declare the cawse whie euerythinge is nowe so Deare and by what means that great inconvenience maye be remedied withoute abatinge aney thinge of the gaynes which his maiestie nowe hathe by the coynage in his mynttes:

One of the chiefeste generall causes why euerythinge is nowe soo deare with the remedy therfore. Capitulo ij°.

For as muche as it is right evident by cronicles that the skantenes and derthe of victuall and other necessaries, hath at maney tymes hertofore not only enforcede great nombre of people to leve ther owin natyve countrys and to inhabit other regions but also hathe ofte tymes cawsede aswell in this realme as also in meney other places greate discorde ande tumultes to ryse betwein the commonaltye and the maiestrates. I have therfor thought good in this littell boke moste specially to Intreat of the causes of this present Derthe and of the remedies for the same, for besides the peculier cawsis which divers tymes do happen: for the rising and fawling of some kinde of wares: Therbe also certen generall cawses why euery thinge is now risen to soo highe price: One cawse is the fawling of thexchaunge be twein vs and Flandres and betwein vs and other nacions my meaning is not thabasing of our Coynes to be the cawse as the moste men Do affyrme; for then showlde

euery thinge be at fower tymes doble the price it was at xx^{tie} yeres by paste: as the tonne of Irone which was wounte to be worthe but Syxe pound shulde be now at xxiiij *li.* lyke wise the tonne of Wyne which was wonte to be at: C *s.*: shoulde be nowe at xx *li.* So that it is easie to be perceiued that althinges is not now risen according to the Basenes of our coyne: But the moste thinges be risen of price according vnto the fawlinge of thexchange: As it muste nedes Doo by all reasone: For when thexchanche was so that we might have hade xxx *s.* flemish for our xx *s.* then myght the marchaunte Delever here fyve markes Sterling to receve for it againe at the martes by exchaunge fyve pound flemishe for which v *li.* flemishe he might then have there one Laste of Osmundes which he might then retayle here for viij *s.* the barrel and vndre and yet be an honest gayner: And ye muste graunte that he which at this daye maketh the foresaid Osmundes be yonde the Sees: cannot sell it at oney lower price then v *li.* flemish as he did before for the laborers and workers of hit muste have as mouche Flemishe money for the working as they hade before. And the english Marchaunt which wolde now have the said laste of usmondes muste either carry golde or Siluer prevely thither to buy it or elles to Deliuer money here to receve it againe ther by exchaunge or elles carry thither as mouche in valure of other wares wherwith to make his change. But if he will now make his exchunge he cannot have ther v *li.* flemishe to by the said Osmondes but he muste deliuer for it here: C *s.* english or ther about. So that if he shoulde now retaile the saide Osmondes here for viij *s.* the Barrell as he was wonte to do he shoulde lose clerly his labour, his freyght, his custome and all his travaill. And if he wolde carry over golde, that Angell which he mought have hade xxxth yeres by paste for vj *s.* viij *d.* woll now coste x *s.* or very nigh it. so that bothe these werkinges ar a lyke. Therfor let it now be scin if this matter cane be aney thinge holpen by the carryeng ouer of marchaundice. For in deid whan a barrell of Osmondes was retaylede here vndre viij *s.* then might the marchaunt have bought here ij C waight of Tynne vndre Fyve marke and have solde it again in flandres above fyve pounde flemishe wherwith he might have bought his Laste of Osmondes.

And treweth it is that the marchaunt man in flaundres cane be contente to take for his laste of Osmondes the said ij C waight of Tyne so that he may reddely sell it ther againe for so mouche flemishe money as his laste of Osmondes is now ther worthe. And admyt that to be still but v *li.* But that beinge trewe that the two hondrethe wayght of tynne may be solde in flandres for v *li.* flemishe ye may be sure that no man being honour [i.e. owner] of mouche Tyne here in englonde is ignorant what price it berith in flandres, And ye know also that v *li.* flemish is now be exchange v *li.* englishe. And therfor he wilnot be so folishe to sell his ij C weight of Tine here in englonde mouche cheper then v *li.* althoughe he coulde aforde to sell it neuer so chepe For every man will sell his wares at the higheste price he may. So that the raysing of thexchange is also the cawse that Tyne and all other our owin wares is rysen. For the lyke reason is to be made of all other thinges and also by reason of the warres. Bothe whereas Tyne is made in the parties of be yonde the Sees and also in the parties wheras Iron is made, bothe Tyne and Osmondes and also manye other kinde of wares be now solde also in flandres for more Flemishe money then they ar wonte to be, so that although ther were none other cawses to make thinges deare but only the falling of the exchaunge yet all thinges wherof the lyke kinde hath recourse to or fro be yonde the Sees. shoulde be a certen quantitie Derer by means of this generall cawse. Here perchaunce some mane will saye that thexchaunge muste of necessity have risen after our coyne was ons made base but that is not so, for the exchaunge myght have byne kepte still as it was, our money being neuer the lese coynde as base [as] it nowe is. For nothing hathe brought the exchaunge so lowe but only the highe price that the kinges maiestie gyveth for golde and Silluer at his mynttes. For yf the kinges maiestie wolde have gyven no more gaynes but viij *d.* or xij *d.* in xx *s.* of olde Siluer by tale and no higher price for the once of Siluer Bullion then as he dide before and after the lyke rate for golde then shoulde thexchaung neuer have byne alterid nor rysen, and then shoulde not wares have risen in price and yet notwithstanding goode provision hade byne made that we might have sente more quantite of wares oute of this realme,

ther shoulde have bine brought far greatter pleanty of Siluer bullion vnto the mynttes then their haue byne: So that the kinges maiestie shoulde bothe have gayned far more by his mynttes. and also haue spente farre les in his warris and in his howsholde then his maiestie have nowe done. Therfor if your grace wolde haue all thinges at as lowe price as they were xxth yeres by paste the kinges maiestie muste gyve but xl *s.* for the pounde weigt of Syluer bullion and but fortye shillinges for the ounce weigt of golde to the intente that marchaunt men may rather covet to bringe in Siluer bullion then golde, for that the kinges maiestie hathe and maye conueniently haue far greatter gaynes by the coynage of Siluer then by the coynage of golde: Yt will now seime vnto the moste men that if the kinges maiestie shoulde gyve no higher price for golde and Siluer then is before saide, that then ther shoulde be very littell brought vnto the mynttes. But it is an infallible argument that if we sende yerely into beyonde the Sees one hundrethe thowsande poundes worthe of wares more then we receve yerely agene, then muste ther nedes be brought into this realme for the saide hundreth thowsand poundes worthe of wares so muche in valuer either of golde or Syluer. which Golde and Syluer cannot remaine in the marchauntes handes but muste nedes be destributed a mongeste them in this realme, whose labor hath brought the said wares: therfor yf it be not brought over in payable money that is to saye in our newe coyned golde or Siluer the greate substans therof muste of necesitie be brought vnto the myntes to be coynede, all thoughe the kinges maiestie gyve but xl *s.* for the pound weigt of Siluer: And then may the kinge, if it shall please his maiestie pute to the pounde weigt but Sixe ounces of Deloye and vj oz. Siluer: and then shall his gaynes in the pounde coynage be equall with the gaynes his maiestie nowe hathe, although he make his grottes in bignes after the rate of xlviij *s.* in the pounde weight. Neuertheles if the necessite of his warres shall so require: His maiestie may coyne also as base as he nowe coyneth and then shall his gaynes be mouche greatter. And as for the means to cawse mouche Bullion to be brought vnto the myntes wherby shall redounde an inestimable profitt vnto the kinges maiestie. I will declare in the forthe syxte and eyght chapiters:

Certen other generall causes why euery thynge ys nowe soo deare with the Remedies therfore : Capitulo Tercio :

Therbe divers other generall causes of this presente Derthe whe[r]of one principall cawse is the Ingrossinge of thinges into fewe mens handes. For when one mane biethe all the steell which commith into englande, he may sell it againe at what price he listethe : and whane one mane engrossethe vppe all the Shipe maye he not make therof whate price it shall please hime? And when eight or tene parsons only haue the hole commoditie and only trade of aney one thinge, it muste be neades far derer then it shoulde haue biine if it were not ingrosede into fewe mens handes. Lyke wise the wooll which was wonte to be mearly equally Distributed into Thyrty or Forty Thowsande sindry mens handes, being nowe (to speke of aney quantyte therof) in the handes of ij or iij hundreth persons : muste it nott nedes be therfor mouche the derer. And for asmuche as woull is by this means risen to an highe price the lordes and gentillmen which being by the suppresson of Abbeyes, and thorrough the lib[er]allite of our late souereigne lorde the kinge that Deade is waxen riche : Sease not daylie to conuerte all ther groundes vnto Shipe pastures which is also a wonderous minesshinge of the vitall in this realme, and so consequently ensuethe the greate Dearth therof : for the moste parte of theme laye ther groundes holye with wethers, partely by cause ther chifeste studdy and desier is to haue mouche woll : And partely also for that ther wethers will lyve vppon that pasture where the pore mans cowe or his caufe shall either Dye for honger, or at the leste waye yelde so littell proffite that he shall be glad to lete the gentillman alone with the hole common. And although by wethers rise the great plentye of woll yet, ther encresithe not so mouche prouffitt of victuall vpon Tene Lordeshipps layede holy to the pasturinge of wethers as ther Dyde by one of theme when they were inhabited with the husbande man. For the husbandman byside the greate encrease of Cornne encreassithe also mouche other victuall : As Caulves. Lambes. Butter. Egges. Chese. Chykens. Hens Capons. Duckes. Geyse, pigges and Porke with Bakon : For the husbande thorrow the

labour of the wyfe and servanttes encreassith more victuall through the white mete of one Cowe in one yere being well pastured and her Caulf being taken frome her at a monthe olde, thene her boddy being fatte, amountith vnto.[1] wher the greate Shipemaster whene he hathe kepte his wether vj or viijth yeres: yet is ther not paste doble asmouche fleche vpon his wether as ther was when his wether was butt one yere olde. Is not this a wonderfull decaye of victuall? Is it aney maruell, thoughe victuall be now waxen dere? But seing ther is at this present so maney Shepe within the realme, howe chanche it, that woll is now at doble the price that it was at within this vij yeres. Mary, for that as I saide before, the great quantite therof is in so fewe mens handes. For it is risen a greate Deale more thene the rate of the fawlinge of thexchaunge amounteth vnto. Seinge then that woll is Deare: Clothe muste nedes rise of price accordinglie. And what thinge cane be chepe whan victuall and Clothe is Deare? Surly nothinge that is wroughte or made by mans hande or labour: for victuall and Clothe be the moste principall thinges. Yee and in a maner the only thinges where vpon euery artifficer bestowith his money. For vitall is the very Norse of all Sciences and Artifficers. And husbandery is the Naturall mother of Victuall: which the excellente wise Fillosopher Xenephon right well perseving: declarithe husbandrye in his treatty of howsolde to be the mother and norse of all Sciences. Thane muste it nedes follow that wheras victuall and also clothes beinge by this Decaye of husbandery waxen dere all thinges that is wrought by artifficers in this our realme muste consequentely be also Deare. And when thartifficers which at the fyrste bought only ther victuall and clothe dere. Nowe bienge his workinge toles and all other necessaries Derer and derer: and payenge also more rente for his howse then he was wonte to doo: He muste now also rayse againe the price of his wares and so lykewise every artificers shall by the vicisitude of raysing of other wares be Dreven to rayse a gaine his wares. And lykewise the lande lordes rayse ther rentes and

[1] A blank is left in the MS. after this word, but the sense does not seem to require any addition.

the Tenantes the price of all victuall vntill souche tyme as this scarsenes of victuall be remedied: which shall never be brought to pase, excepte these greate Shippasturees be distributed a gayne into husbande mens handes and occupieng. So that by thes foresaide meanes that is to saye by gyving souche lese price in the myntes for golde and Siluer: By destributinge a gaine of the Shippastures into Dyvers mens handes: And by the inhebetinge of covetus marchaunte men, that they do not engrose the hole commoditie of eney one thinge into ther handes. All thinges may be brought vnto the price that they were commonly at xxxth yeres by paste. Ther is yet also one other inconvenience lyke to growe for the scarsenes of victuall wherof I will entreate in the ixth Chappiter. And as for the means to cawse the Shippastures to be destributed againe into husbande mens occupienge, I will declare in the vj chap.

The meanes to cause mouche Bullion to be brought frome be yonde the Sees vnto the kinges Mintes wherbie his maiestie may be wonderfully enriched withoute thimpouerisshing of his Commons: Cap: quarto.

The onlie meanes to cause mouche Bullione to be broughte oute of other realmes vnto the kinges mintes is to prouide that a great quantite of our wares maye be carriede yerly into beyonde the Sees and lese quantitie of ther wares be brought hether a gaine. For yf it so were that we dide sende thither yerly in wares the value of vj C. thowsande poundes and receve a gaene no wares frome thense, no mane cane then denie but we shoulde then receve from thence yerly in bullion, or in our owine coyne the value of the saide vj C. thousande pounde: Lykewise if souche means maye be fonde as I ensure your grace, it is nether vn possible, nor vnlykelye to sende ouer the Sees yerly in wares the value of a leven hundreth Thowsande pounde, and to receve a gaine in all kinde of wares but the value of vj C. Thowsande poundes: Muste it not follow of necessitie that we sholde then receve for the other fyve hund[red] Thowsande pounde, eyther so mouche Bullion or englishe coyne. But when all our new Englishe coyne shalbe come ouer againe

then muste they nedes bringe Bullione, and yf the kinges maiestie gyve xij*d*. Lese for the ounce of golde then for the pounde weigt of Silluer, it shall then all be brought ouer in siluer bullion: and by vj C. thowsande ponde in siluer bullion gyuing the price that the kinges maiestie now gyveth: and being coyned after the rate his maiestie now coyneth, ther is gayned a boue vj C. thowsand pounde clerly. But if his maiestie shoulde gyve but forty pence for the ounce of Silluer, and coyne also after the rate that he now coyneth, then shoulde his gaynes in his mintes be far greatter and his Charge of warrs, and howseholde far lese. which is a matter well worthey to be lokid vpon seinge it is no empouerisheing vnto the commons: but shall rather be an in estimable richeinge bothe of the lordes and commons as I shall here after planly declare. Ande all though these thinges seme very strange and harde to be brotte to pase. yet yf your grace do marke well my maninge hereafter I doubt not, but declare planly how this may be donne and that also even as the opertunite now servith without eney greate dificultie: considerinnge what a great nombre of people is now in this realme which working a littell in Somer be more then halfe Idell all the residew of the yere: besides theme which be alwayes Idell: considerinng on thother side, what a great quantite of grounde in this realme liethe waste and ouergroine bering nowe nothing wherof commith eney proufit: which being manuride might be causide to encrease yerly an numerable quantite of Corne. Let it be also consideride what a great nombre of Monkes, Channons, Friers and Chauntrye pristes with ther Servantes were mentayned in Idelnes: when the Abbeyes dyd stande: besides the tyme when the residew of the realme did also bestowe them in Idelnes and Idell workes in gooing of pilgramagis: keping of Idell hollidayes: Carvinge, pantinge, and gilding of Imagis, and yet neuerthelese, the artifficers and laborers in those dayes dyd all the worke and labour for the tilling and manuring of the gronde: and for the victualing and clothing of all the people in the hole realme: and for the woking of all other thinges necessary for the same: and besides that sente ouer the Sees yerly in wares the valure of vj C. thowsande poundes. Seing then that so muche Idelnes was here mentayned, this realme being neuer

thelese able to sende ouer the Sees yerly in wares the value of vj C. thowsande poundes: it shoulde seme by all reasone that if euery laborer, and artifficer, and all other the common people of this realme wer well sett at worke: and the residew of our superfluus hollidais pute done: we might be able, be sides the prouision of Corne victuall and clothe for saruing our owne realme, [to] sende ouer the Sees yerly xij C. thowsande poundesworth of Corne, Lede, tyne, Clothe and other marchauntdice. For ther is yet standing beside the Sondayes xxxvth hollidayes, wherof xxiiijth or xxvth may be well putte donne. And neuertheles kepte still Selebratide the Natiuite of our Lorde with the other holly dayes folloing in commemoration of all Sanntes: Lykewise the holly dayes folloing Ester daye in commemorat[tion] of all Saintes: and also thre dayes in commemoration of all Saintes folloing white sondaye: For yf these foresaide hollydayes and the Sondayes [were] well spente eyther in heving goode Sermondes or of holly Omelyes well redde and treatably and that the people were ernestly exortede commaunded and chargide by their Curattes to remembre and caule apon gode dayly at ther uprising with the Lordes prayer, the people might by souche sermones Omilies and daylye prayers be far better disposide then they now ar. And yf xxth of the saide hollydayes were bestoide in labor, (for I accompte iiij or v to faule vppon the Sonndayes) this realme shoulde be the richer yerly by v or vj C. thowsand pounde and by means therof muche more Bullion to be brought vnto the mynttes: For ther is in this realme: as moste mene do affyrme Fyftene thowsande parishes: and admit ther is as meney artifficers and Laborers Reckening bothe men and women with ther servauntes and prentises in euery one parishe: as may gayne to ther selfes in one working daye xl *s.* toward ther meat and drynke: For meate and drinke muste they ons haue, although they were Idell, this amountithe in all englande in one daye to thirtye thowsande pounde: so that by putting donne of xxth hollidayes this realme maye be enrichede euery yere Sixe hundreth thousande pounde: For if the Smithes in this realme dyd vpone those dayes make nayles: Shoulde not we receue so maney the fewer nayles fro be yonde the Sees? And yf the Tyne workers did also vppon those dayes worke Tyne

shoulde we not sende ouer the Sees so muche the more tyne? And so Lykewise may it be said of all other occupacions and labors: So that, either by the sending of more wares ouer Sees, or by receving lese frome thense, this Realme shalbe yerely enrichede as is aforesaide with money and Bullion comming oute of other countries: and before that, it cane be curraunt in this realme, it muste be coynede in some coyne as shall please the kinges maiestie. So that his maiestie maye gayne eyther doble or treple or what hime selfe shall please by the coynage, souche provision before declaride being made, that it may be brought in Siluer Bullion. Yet will I not affyrme that ther shall be brought eyther so mouche Bullion vnto the mynttes yerly as the ouerplus of the wares amountith vnto: for they alwayes which be very Riche will kepe some Bullion for making of plate which in tyme of peace wilbe no inconvenience: For when the kinges maiestie shall haue eney greate warrs, his maiestie may easly withoute eney grouchinge of the commons procure a Subsidie for the mentenaunce of the warres of xij *d.* a yere during his warrs oute of euery pounde valure of plate. And all though the some of the subsidie shall amounte to a very great thinge: yet by the meanes of the greate quantite of plate which shall by occasion therof be brought vnto the myntes. his maiestie shall gayne innumerable somes. This kinde of Subsidie shoulde nowe at this parliament have beine bothe grantide and payed with much lese grutcheng then the relif which was graunted vpon clothes: And shoulde haue turnide also vnto an unknowen proffit towardes the kinges maiestie: And asfore the relif vpon clothes, I beleve verely yf the trewith might be knowin that the kinges maiestie shall Lose more in his mynttes by the means of the saide relife, then the gaynes of the said Relif shall a monte too. For doub[t]les it shall be the cause that the fewer clothes shalbe made in Englonde. So that ther shalbe carriede ouer the Sees a lese quantite of wares then ther shoulde elles haue byne: and so consequently lese quantite of Bullion be broughte vnto the realme. And wheras his maiestie shall haue of a clothe that is worthe Sixe pounde, but iiij *s.* for relif: he shoulde gayne be bringyng in of so mouche Bullion as mouche as a clothe shoulde be solde for a boue eyght pounde, where as the value of the

woull that the clothe is made of amountith vnto not passing halfe soo muche. And thus for euery clothe that shalbe made ther shalbe fewer by means of this Relif, his highnis shall lose in the mynttes halfe the value of the clothe. So that for hauing a small Subsidie vpon Clothes, his maiestie shall lose a greate peace of Reuenew which his maiestie shoulde elles haue hadde by the bringenge of Bullion vnto his mynttes. And besides that dryve maney of his Subiects into idelnes and mysery. And I ensure your grace ther cannot a greatter occasion be geven to make tumulte and Insurrection then sodenly to dryve a greate tumulte to gyther oute of ther worke into Idelnes as it maye be evedently sein in many sondry Cronakles yea and of the late here in Englonde in the xvjth yere of the reigne of our late souereigne Lorde king Henry the eyght by the dangerus insurrexion in Suffoke and Norfoke which was only by the occasion of the Clotiers ther dyd sodenly (partly perchaunce of a frowardenes) as I feare some will nowe doo, pute a waye ther wo[r]ke men by the reason of a greate Subsidie which was then graunted.

A prouision that oure Newe Coynes be not counterfaitede in foren Realmes: Capit quinto:

Ther is nothynge more to be doubtede, nor aney thinge cane so muche hindre thincreasinge of the realme and the kinges maiesties gaynes in his mynttes as the bringeinge of Counterfaict money in to the Realme. For although ther is not in a hunderith pounde of souche counterfait money the trewe value of forty shillinges in siluer yet neuertheles for the saide C. *li.* Counterfait the bringer in therof may carry out of this realme for hit a hundreth poundes worth of good wares: And all thoughe ther be not in a hundreth pounde of the saide money one C. oz of good Siluer yet he that bringeth in the saide C. *li.* counterfait maye carry a waye for hit Fower hundrede ounces of good Siluer so that by bringen in of one hundred ounces of Siluer, he carrieth a waye fower hundrede ounces. Therfor seing that the hole weale of the Realme and thinrichinge of the kinge his maiestie consisteth vpon this poincte I wolde to gode that [we] shoulde not herin be over negligent, suffering our selfes to be wrongefully

persuaded that our coyne cannot be so counterfaited but that we shall perceyve it: for they flatter theme selfes to mouche with perswading theme selfes that they ar so conning in myxenge and blaunching of mettalles as ther is not in some other countries other mene as conninge as they: Yea and that after they have once seine our Coyne cane counterfaite it so nigh that they will not mise one Jotte neyther in the Deloye, in the Stampe, nor in the Blanching. Therfor, for as mouche as ther cane be no kinde of Differaunce perceyved betweine our coyne and the counterfaite: And consideringe the greate Domage bothe vnto the realme and to the kinges maiestie by the bringeng in of eney counterfait money. It shoulde be well done to enacte that none of our new Coynes after a certen daye be brought into this Realme frome eney forene contrayes vppon payne of forfeyture. And me semith that this acte shoulde be very Reasonable considering it hath of longe tyme byne inhibeited by the lawse of this Realme to carry aney of our englishe moneyney [*sic*] or coyne out of this Realme. This Statute being ons enacted and narrow serche ther vppon made, it woll discorage all foraine princes and ther Subiectes to goo aboute the counterfayting of our Coyne where as elles ther coulde be no better practise nor pollicie for our eyneymyes then to menteigne warres a gainste vs with our owne Syluer ther for it were better that we were herin Raither to scrupilus thene to negligent:

The means to cause the Common people of this Realme to be thorroulye sete a worke. Mouche wares to goo Forthe of this Realme. And the Shipe pastures to be dystributede agayne in to diuers mens occupienge. Capit Sexto.

And yf ther were non other waye nor means and that ther coulde be non other prouision found to sett all the Idell people of this realme a worke eaven the very waste grounde and the Shipe pastures in this Realme, yf the one half myght be convertid into erable grounde, were able to sett all mene sufficientlye a worke, yea and thoughe ther were also half as maney more people in this realme as ther now is. And surely ther were no waye better to cause moiche wares to goo forthe of this realme then

to converte the waste grounde being now ouer Floine with water and ouer groine with broime, ferren or Fyrse, vnto erable or pasture. And to restraine the Shippe Masters and engrossers of Farmes, that they do not hereafter converte so mouche grounde vnto Shippe pastures. And then to suffer all manner of Corne to be yerly transeportide ouer the Sees as well as eney other kinde of marchundice. Is ther not exclamacion made almoste in euery notable Sermonde against the insaciable Shippasturers? But neyther cane the feare of gode nor the shame of the worlde dryve theme to distribute ther grondes againe into husbande mens handes and occupienge. And of this one thinge be you certen and sure that as longe as the Shippe Masters be sufferede thus to encroche and gayther gronde in to ther handes and Laye all to Shippe pastures, ye shall neythe haue victuall chepe: the realme well inhabited nor the common people able to helpe the kinges maiestie in his warrs: For as Cicero in his thirde boke of offices saieth: whereas euery mane pull and violently drawe vnto himeselfe all that euer he canne snache frome other men, fare well that common wealle, the societie of men is clene over throne. Therfor, for as mouche as this gredye getheringe to gither of grounde for shippasturis tendethe so mouche to the destruction of this noble realme and that no gentill exortacon cane enduce the honors [i.e. owners] therof to reduce ther groundes to ther former estate. It is more then requisite that some remedie be herein provided. And surely ther coulde haue byne no redier waye to cause agreat quantite of the said Shippastures to be convertid into erable then this Subsidie vppon Shippe. If all they which have above Two hundrede might have payed for euery shepe they have aboue the saide nombre iiij *d.* yerly during the king[s] warrs and they which have vndre the saide nombre to have paide nothinge. this Subsidie shoulde have causide the Shippe with the Shippe pastures to be immediatly destributed into dyuers husbande mens handes, which beside the yerly encrease of corne wolde cause also mouche plenty of all maner other vytall. But yf this foresaid Subsidie shalbe thought not sufficiente to cause the foresaid Shippe Masters and engrosers of farmes to destribute ther grondes into dyvers mens handes, it may be ennactede that no man be sufferide to kepe eney Shepe

or gelded beastes, excepte they kepe for euery eyght shepe one acre of gronde in tillage. And for euery two gelded beste[s] one acre of gronde in tillage. vpon payne elles to forfait for euery shepe xij *d.* and for euery beaste x *s.* Surly this engrosing of Farmes and Shipe pastures haue hitherto beine a wonderfull decaye of victuall in this realme and mouche againste the common weall of the same. And yet I haue oftymes doubtede with my selfe whether this realme suffired more domage in this behalfe by the couetusnes of the ingrossers of Farmes and shipe pastures or by the slothe and negligence of other people in this realme or rather (yf I myght be so bolde herin to speke the trewthe) by the negligence of theme of the parliament howse in suffringe so mouche good grounde in this Realme to be ouer flowen with wauter and ouer grone with Busshes, brome, Ferne, hethe and furse, Maye we not be a shamide to remembre our neglige in this behalfe, if we rightly poundre what a wonderfull quantite of grounde in this Realme is by this means wasted and desolate, considering one thother parte what an in estimable quantite of corne and victuall might be ther vppon encreaside by the Labour of them which at this present for wante of worke be more then halfe Idell and by theme which lyve wholly in idelnes. We may se in all other realmes very barren groundes even by force made fertill, but we suffer our frutfull groundes be slothe to be come barrene. They will sete yonge babes to worke but we suffer great lubbers to be Idell. and what hathe byne the cause of this Slothe and Idellnes amonge vs, mary eaven the great fructfulnes of our gronde. For as Patricius Senensis boke *de regno* [*et*] *institucione regis* sayeth. That contry which of hime selfe is so frutefull that it bringeth forth plenty of vitall and all other thinges necessary for mans life and sustinaunce, bringeth vppe also solouthefull and Idell people. And contrary wise, those people which inhabite the Barren contries, be muche more Dilligent and Industrius. Oure gronde hathe in tyme paste and all wayes here to fore yelded souche plenty of victuall that the very pore Laborers here in englande haue alwayes heretofore bine accustomed to be fedde with Fleche and white meates. whereas the common people in other realmes lyve onlye with routtes and yerbes. So that now by the longe custom it is so

groune in to Nature that an englishe man cannot possible lyve with that Diat, which a stranger is well inovgh contentide with. And this is the cause that all other Nacions, cane afforde to make and sende hithe all those kynde of wares wherof we make the lyke here in englond at a lower price thene they cane be made here. For iij frenche pesauntes which lyue and labor the hole yere with a lese charge of victuall then we canne here fynde one servant. Maye they not therfor well aforde to sell ther wares fare chepper thene we? And by the seling of the wares heare in englande cheper then eney englishman cane kepe servantes to make them: they dryve vs in Idelnes and Beggery. To this some man will saye that our beggers shoulde raythe lyve with rottes and yerbes as the frenche men do then to goo of Bedging but the cause whye they will not so do: is for that an englishe begger hathe bine wonte here to fore to yete more fleche better bredde and to drynke better drynke gyven in almes at mens dores then the laborer or artifficer in fraince cane gette and gayne with all his sore laboringe. And this is the cause that our people for the moste parste [*sic*] will goo a begging rather then so Labor and Lyve so strayghtly. Now I wolde not wishe seinge these enconveniences maye be otherwise remedied that englishe men shoulde be driven to the frenche pezauntes Diette. For englishemen by the reason of ther stronge feadinge be mouche hardier and stronger in the warres then be the frenche Pezantes. But the meannes to brynge to pase that the Sale her[e] of those wares which be wrought in forren realmes shall not hereafter dryve thenglishe men vnto Idelnes I will declare planly in the eyght chappiter:.

A prouision thate Husbandemen do not hereafter giue ouer tillage in plentifull yeres. Capit: Septimo:

It may well be allegide agenste this my advise that when we shall haue conuertide souche a great quantite of grounde vnto areable ther maye come souche a plentifull yere in all other realmes that we shall in no place haue vente nor sale for the thyrde parte of our Corne. And although the Daniskers and other nacions which haue allwayes vside Corne for the Chiefeste

trade of ther Marchaundice haue the pollices to kepe Corne and wheate for the space of vj or vij yeres good if nede require. Yet it is to be consideride that the moste parte of Marchaunte men in englonde haue no souche experience and besides that perchunce some be not able and some other will not vpon certenty of gaynes disborse ther money in plentifull yeres vpon Corne so that the husbande man for a wante of a resonable price for the corne shalbe then dryven agayne to throw doune mouche of ther Tillage. But as for this inconvenience ther is a very good remedye yf your grace will note well my meaninge herein and for thadvoyding herof it shalbe requisite and also for other causes expedient, bothe for the kinges maiesties prouffit and also for the weale of the realme that proclamacion be made that the kinges maiestie shall at souche tymes when ther shalbe souche greate plentifull of Corne. gyve at certen portes in all the costes of this realme for wheat Seven shillinges the quarter. for Rie Sixe shillinges the quarter. For maulte benes and pece, fyve shillinges the quarter. But if the kinges maiestie do gyve a lese pryse for golde and Siluer in his myntes as is before declarde and so cause the exchaunge to ryse a gayne to thyrty shillinges flemeshe for Twenty shillinges sterlinge. And by the other pollices before namyde to cause vitall, clothe, and all other thinges cheper. Then will it be a right honeste price to gyue vj *s.* for wheat, v *s.* for Rye, and iiij *s.* for maulte benes and peace. And then maye the kinges maiestie sell it heare a gaine vnto marchaunt men at a lese prise then it coste gyuing them also a daye of payement so that he be paid for it in siluer Bullion and then shall the marchaunte haue it here at the kinges handes at souche lowe price that he shall aforde to sell it in Spaine or portuigall at a cheper price then either the Dansker or eney other nacion cane possible aforde to sell thers. And neuertheles the kinges maiestie shall gayne wonderfull sommes of money by the coynage of the Bullion. And for asmuche as our marchaunt men shall allwayes aforde to sell ther corne in Spayne and Portuigall at souche Lowe price: that they shall not only dryue the Danskers being mouche fardre frome the saide countries then we be. frome the trade therof. But also in procese of tyme all other nacions. And furdre more cause also theme of the saide coun-

tries of Spayne and Portuigall to soue mouche lese cornne then they were wonte heretofore to doo. So that when we shall haue the hole trade of seruinge the said countries it shalbe also a cause that no kinge nor prince of the saide Countries shalbe able for wante of vittal to menteigne aney warres a gaynste vs. And then whan wheate shall chaunce to be at so highe a price in Spaine and Portuigall as it hathe byne at meney tymes here tofore. by means wherof wheate beinge ons Risen here to xij or xiij *s.* the quarter the kinges maiestie may then take greate sommes of money for Licenses. For my meaninge is ther shoulde be an accte that no wheate shulde be carred oute of this realme beinge a boue the price of Tene shilling the quarter with oute Licens. So that whan our quarter of wheate shall chaunce to be ther solde for Forty or fyfty shillinges the quarter as it hathe byne at meney tymes here tofore: it shalbe wonderfull sommes of money that the kinges maiestie may thene gayne in one yere by his Licenses. and by the coynage of the bullione. And be sides that be a wonderfull enriching of the commons in this realme.

The means to cause meney kynde of Wares to be Wrought within this Realme which heretofore were wonte to be broughte frome other contries: Capit: Octauo.

Ther is noo waye more certene to cause all kinde of wares to be wrought within this Realme, which hertofore were wonte to be brought frome other countryes: Then to cause a subsidie to be sette of iiij or v *s.* of the pounde, vppon all souche kinde of wares cominnge frome be yonde the Sees wherof the lyke maye be made and wrought or hade within this Realme, or wherof we stande in no very greate neade: So that it maye generally be set vppon all kinde of wares comming frome be yonde the Sees: Irone, Stele, Copper, Pyche, and tarre onlye excepted. And then shall this only Subsidie do more goode to moderate the excesse of apparrell then euer eney statute haue donne or cane doo in that be halfe. And besides that it is welnighe incredible howe greate commodite shall therby ensue vnto all Cappers, Hatters, Poyntters, Pinners, Glasemakers, Worstede weuers, Paynters,

Caruers, Cutlers, Smithes, Pewterers, Silkewome[n], linene spiners, Lynen wevers, Glovers, pursemakers, yea and vnto all occupacions and artificers which worke eney wares wherof the lyke kinde commith frome beyonde the Sees, which might haue bine in the parliamente howse at dyuers tymes heretofore right well perceyuede and consideride. For in the thyrde yere and also in the xxijth yere of kinge Edwarde the forthe, the fyrste yere also of kinge Richarde the Thirde, in the fyrste yere of kinge Henry the seventh requeste was made by Dyuers artifficers that certen wares as poinctes, Lace, gyrdelles, Rybondes, purses, and Pouches, knyves, hangers and dyuers other kindes shoulde be vtterly prohibetede vppon payne of forfayture to be brought into the Realme and dyuers statuttes was then ther vppon made, but that thing which hathe byne alwayes the cause that a moste in [? no] penall Statute can do eney good, was the cause also that those statutes toke litell effecte, For what quiet person will take vppon hime the slanderous name of a promouter, or what honeste man will in that cause procure the vtter vndoing of his neighbour, therfor if euer you will haue eney penaull Statute well kepte, ther muste be sette at the fyrste but a small and a reasonable penaultye, and certen bayles and officers appoincted in euery shire truly to receve and gayther them. But as for this penaulty of iiij or v *s.* in the pounde of souche wares comminge inwarde, it maye right well in the nature of a Subsidie be levied and receyvede by the customers, and besides the highe commoditie that shall here bey yerly ensue vnto the kinges maiestie in his mynttes besides all the wonderfull enricheing of the realme, surly ther cane none other other [*sic*] thinge so mouche procure the harty love of all kinde of artifficers in this realme vnto the kinges maiestie and vnto your grace, for by means herof euery artifficer in this realme shall haue his handes full of wo[r]ke, and ther coulde neuer haue byne a better occasion nor a more convenient tyme to haue souche a Subsidie grauntide, than even at this present: for if the Subsidie which is nowe grauntide of xij *d.* of the pounde of goodes during this three yeres with the Subsidie of Clothes might be conuertide into a Subsidie of v *s.* oute of euery pound valure, and [? *delete* and] of all the aforesaide kinde of wares comming frome be yonde the Seas During the Kinges Warres, and in to a Subsidie of

xij *d.* in the pounde duringe the kinges warrs of all Chaines Ringes Juelles and plate either of golde or Siluer which shalbe vncoynede and vnpute to the myntes to be coyned at a certene daye: then muste it nedes followe of necessite that either his maiestie shall haue more coustome thene he now hathe by one hundrethe thowsande pound yerly: or elles for euery Thowsande ponde which shall therof lacke in custome his maiestie shall haue Fower thowsande pounde bullion brought in to his mynttes by the coynage of which Thowsande pounde being in Siluer Bullion and gyuing the price I haue before declarede coyni[n]ge also after the rate he nowe coynethe: his maiestie might thene gayne tene thowsande pounde and by this means also of wo[r]king so mouche wares within this realme: shoulde the people be the better sette at worke, and vppon the hollida[y]s which should be abrogate seinge therof that these kinde of Subsidies shoulde so farre surmounte the other Subsidies in prouffit towardes the kinges maiestie. And so greate commodite shall therby also ensue vnto the realme: being also bothe eaysier to be grauntide and with lese Danger of tumulte Leviede: Me thinks that souche an occasion and opertunite wolde be in nowise letten slyppe. But here vnto perchaunce it wilbe obiectide that if souche Subsidie be sette vpon merchaunt Straungers goodes comming vnto this realme. that then the Emproor and all other princes will sette a Subsidie vppon our wares comming vnto theme. But what if they also dyd. as I doubte whether the Subiectes will souffer theme so to doo. Yet even as by the means of the Subsidye which shalbe here sette vpon those ther wares, we shall bye those kinde of wares fyve shillinges in the pounde Derer thene we shoulde doo, if the saide Subsidie were not: So lykewise if they sette a Subsidie vppon our wares, they muste bye theme so mouche the Derer as the Subsidie amountith vnto. So that if they sette souche a Subsidie vppon our wares, it shall not be our marchauntes but thinhabitaunttes of those countries that shall paye it. And thene I doubte not but it shall soune apere that we canne sone forbere ther wares and that they cannot forbere owers For weare the wares be souche that we either stande in no greate neade of or elles maye haue the lyke the lyke [*sic*] wrought with in this realme our commodities be souche as they stonde in

very greate nede of and cannot haue the lyke in ther owine countries. And as for our Corne, they stonde [in] souche nede of it in Spayine and Portuigall that they do not onlye sett it free of all Customes, but also prouide commone garnettes: and Chamberes of ther owne cost to lye vppe and kepe our corne in, when we cannot reddelly sell it. So that if we doo employe our selfes as is before declaryde, to haue ande use corne as a trade of marchaundice we may be sure, that they will not only sette no Subsidi vppon it, but also love and fauour our marchauntes as mouch for the bringenge of it as the yonge childrene do loue ther noursis for gyuing theme sucke of ther brestes, And wheras the marchauntes of the stilliarde do clayme a priuelage to paye but Th[r]ee pence of a pounde inwardes, they muste be compounded which [*sic*, ? with] before this Subsidie be sette or aney thinge spokene of and the kinges maiestie may vppon consideracion, that the saide priuayledge was grauntide fyrste by the waye of a rewarde or [y]erly pencione. Abate theme of those customs, that Englishe men paye Fyftene or Sixtene hundreth poundes a yere to the meinte[nance] of ther howse and companey, and this shalbe in the kinges behalfe a more honorable rewarde and also shall take a waye thoccasion of Fraude which is vside by the merchaunt men of the Stilliarde in coulleringe other Straungers gooddes.

The Remedie to cause as mouche Fishe to be spente yerly in this Realme as was wonte to be at eney tyme herctofore: Capit Nono:

For asmouche as diuers of the common people of this realme be mouche offended that so muche Fleche hathe byne etten vppon the Fishe dayes, Imputing only thervnto the chief cause of this present derthe of victuall: it were therfore very good and requisiet to see if eney remedie coulde in this behalfe be devised, but as for the inhibetinge of eatinge Fleshe by eney penall Statutes, I cane neuer thinke that it will take effect. For was thernot as straight a lawe made for the excesse of Apparrell and yet coulde not the kinge nor all his counsaill fynde the means to haue that Statute kepte, yet they which offendid therin coulde be no means excuse ther faulte, but that it moughte right welbe accompted a mere wantonnes and a maneyfeaste contempte

of the Statute. Whereas in this casse he that is moste helthefull maye allege hime selfe to be sikelye and evell at ease. Also apparrell is commonlye woren in the Strettes openly and in places of most accesse. But Fleshe maye be eatten at home priuelly yea and so priuelly that none but the very eatters therof shall be able to proue hit. And if he were acceptide for a busie Promoter which wolde sue a man for manifeste contempt of the Statute of apparell, shall he nowe be accompted for an honeste neyghbour which shall troble a mane for eatting of his meate in his owne howse. And was ther not before this an other proclamacion made in the fyrste yere of the kinges maiestie that nowe is. That no man, not beinge syke and having no licens shoulde vpon payne of imprisonment and the kinges highnes displeasure ette fleshe vppon the Frydayes? But whate ensued therof, aney other thinge but only that the people were therby brought in vse to disobey the kinges commaundment. Aristotell the moste renoune[d] Phillosopher that euer dyd write of a common weall in his iiijth boke of Fillosophis sayeth that ther cane no common weall contynewe wher lawes bere no force. And surely ther cannot be a more pernicius thing. to bringe the people frome a dew obbediens then to make souche lawes as shall not be kepte. I wolde rayther wishe that all those olde Stattutes which be not kepte (wherof I ensure your grace ther is a greate nombre) might be cleane abrogate by act of parliament so that it might be a rare thinge to see a Statute or the kinges proclamacion disobeide. And thene shall the kinges maiesties proclamacion be hade in farre more estimacion and reuerense. To returne agayne to my purpose it were very requisiet that ther shoulde be as mouche fishe spente in the realme yerly as was wonte to be here tofore, for elles will fishe and other vittall also rise to an vnreasonable price. And surly ther is nothinge that will soner move the people vnto Sedicion then the derthe of victuall. What fayer means or what thretninge, what strayght Lawes or what weeapons can passefye or kepe quiete the hongry multitude. *Nescit plebs ieiuna timere* Sayeth Lucane Yea extreme Famyne hathe maney tymes causede men to do thinges even horrible to be thought vppon. For whate Fayth and allegeaunce will those men observe towardes ther prince and gouernour which

haue ther childrene Famished at home for wante of meate. For the people for the moste parte do empute the cause of Derthe vnto the Rulers. And perchaunce some of the rude and Ignorante sorte will impute thole cause therof to the only ettinge of Fleshe vppon the fyshe dayes. Yet [it] were therfor very requisite, and that not only for plentifull of victuall, but also for the practesing of marryners, that Fishinge were menteigned, which as semithe to me maye be right well brought to passe, if in euery shire adioninge vppon the See and in euery other shire adioninge vppon eney greate water, ther were a brotherhede made and a fraternite of Fichermen hauing souche lyke copporation as the fraternite of occupacions haue in London, and that all other shires which adione not vppon the See nor vppon eney other greate watter, were so equallie allotede vnto the foresaid Fraternities, that the cyrcute belonginge vnto euery Fraternitee myght be mouche of lyke quantitie, and that the wardens of the foresaid fraternities shoulde haue these priualegis followinge: Fyrste that they shoulde haue only Auctorite to gyue License for the ettinge of Fleshe within ther seuerall Jurisdiction And that they shall gyve euery mane license too ette fleshe vppon the fishe dayes gyvinge vnto ther Freternitie Fortye pence byey[e]re [i.e. by year], And the entringe of the parties name in to the wardens boke to be a sufficiente license, And if eney persone shall eate Fleshe vppon the fyshe dayes with oute this License to forfaite Fortye shillinges, the one moitie therof vnto the wardens of the Fraternitie of the precincte where he duellith, And the other moite therof vnto the wardens of the parishe churche where he dwellithe. And that the money cominge of the said Licensis within euery seuerall Jurisdiction be equally devided a monges the Fisshermen of the saime Fraternitie, but only souche as shall daylye withoute comente or fraude occupye the trade of Fishinge vnlese he be honour or half honour of a Botte, vsing yerly the trade to Irelande or the trade to herringe fare. And by this means shall it come to passe, that the more fleshe as shalbe eytten vppon the Fishe dayes the more men shalbe desierus to become Fishermen. And the more Fisshermen that therbe vsinge daylye the trade of Fishinge, the more Fishe shalbe taken. So that the ettinge of Fleshe vppon Fishe dayes shalbe the cause

that pore men shall bye Fishe good cheipe te eate vpon the Fishe dayes and non inconvenience shalle herby ensue: For in the respecte of thole boddy of the Realme noo money shalbe loste. For only the wanton money cominnge oute of the riche mans purse, shall cawse the pore mane to by his victuall chepper. And yf the Labourer and artifficer maye bye aney kinde of victuall at a lowe price we shall haue then all thinges which is made or wrought in englande by mans hande at a reasonable price. For as victuall risethe or Fawlethe of price so doo all other thinges followe.

One other prouision to make more plentie of Victuall: Capit: Decimo:

For so mouche as it is right euident that the greateste cause of mysery in this realme at the present is the derth of victuall and the Dearthe therof is the cawse also of the hignes of price of maney other kinde of wares. I intend therfor to declare one other helpe for the better remedie herof. which all though it shall seime at the fyrste vnto some men to be a thinge of small importance. yet surlye if they which haue thexperience hereof will dilligently pondre the matter, they shall perceve it to be a matter that will helpe mouche. It is not vnknowen vnto them which haue trauilede in this Realme that ther is in diuers places therof greate quantitie of common Groundes. And for asmouche as all Seuerall groundes be nowe of late yeres Raysede vnto so hight renttes, the foresaid commone groundes beinge by that occasion more ouerchargid with cattell thene they were heretofore wonte to bee, so that whereas here to fore the pore man might haue thre or fower or halfe a dozen mylche kine indifferently well pastured vpon the said Commons to his great relif for the victuallinge of hime selfe his wife and his children, and for the better fornesshinge of the markettes with white meattes: Yt is now come to passe thowrow the vnmeasurable couuetusnes of the Richer sorte, that the moste parte of the said commons be so ouer layede with Shippe, that neyther cane the poremans Cowe lyve vppon the said commons to yelde hime eney proffit, nor yet cane ther eney kinde of Fleche be fede fatt thervppon for the

furnishinge of the markettes. And although they [*sic*, the] los[s]e which the Riche men haue by pyning and famisshinge of parte of ther Cattell do welniught counter vayle the prouffite and encrease that they haue in the Residewe, yet non of them will abate of the Nombre. For as mouche as euery mane by hime selfe thinkith that his abatemente shoulde littell preuayle excepte other men cominge in the same commons dide also abate. This thinge miyght right welbe remedied if it myht please the kinges maiestie with the aduise of your grace and with the consente of other his moste honerable counsaill for the consideracions aforesaid to appoincte certen commisioners for the ratinge of all manner of Commons and they to sette a taxe howe maney beastes and Shipe euery man shall ther vppon kepe, according to the quantite of ther tenure, hauing neuer the lese a speciall regarde in the fauour of the poureste cottigers. And then shall we haue oute of the said commons plentye of fatte Bullockes, fatte Caufes, fate mutton, and fate Lames thorrow owte all the Sommer and for the moste parte of the yere. And one Cowe goinge vppon the said commons being so ratide shall then yelde more white meate, thene fowre souche kyee do at this presente the grounde being ouer Laide. And then shall we haue no souche deathe and staruinge of Cattell as we now commonly haue. And wheras meney of the said commone grondes be now at this present ouer growin with busshes Ferne or Fyrse, or ouer flowne, or drouned with waters yt may be prouided and appointed by the said Commissioners that euery man hauinge priualeidge of common in eney of the saide Common groundes shall according vnto his rate at certen common and Bonnde Dayes yerly bestowe labour in a mendinge and leuinge drye the said groundes being common. And surely partely by the ratinge and partely by the a mendinge of the saide common groundes it will growe vnto a wonderfull encrease of victuall in this realme. Many thinges coulde I here saye, and diuers forainge argumenttes coulde I make to proue it a thinge bothe honeste and necessary and behowfull to bring donne this highe price of victuall and all other thinges: but that I perceve your grace all reddy of your owine godly enclinacion muche bente vnto this purpose, for what cane be so prinsely so liberaull and so

munificente a thing as to cawse that all men shall bye bothe ther victuall and all other thinges at a cheper price. But ther is yet one other thinge which wolde helpe somewhat for the chepnes of victuall, and that is, yf neyther the lorde Mayour of London nor no other officer might haue none auctorrite to sette eney price of victuall, For vndre the Cullour of a commone wealthe they abvse ther auctorrite vnto ther owne proper Lucar. For yf eney mane do bringe eney Corne bi shippe vnto London, the Lorde Mayour hauinge eney plenty of Corne in granettes then will his Lordeshippe sette hime souche a lowe price of his Corne that he shall haue littell liste to bringe eney more vnto the Cittye. So that whan by souche means he hathe dryuen a waye all the Corne vitallers, thene he will sell his owne at what price hime selfe listeth. Lykewise whane the Lorde Mayour dothe come into the markett and cawseth here and there a pigge to be pulled oute of a poore womans hande and to be solde by the Servauntes per chaunse vnto the Seruantes owne wife for halfe the price that it is worthe in the market or cause the Seruante to sell ij or iij baskettes full of egges for twise as maney a penney as is commonly solde in the markete: Do this eneythinge helpe the generall price of victuall? No surely, but it dothe mouche hindre it, for she that hathe by this means loste so mouche money vppon one daye: muste nedes sell a greate deall the derer at other tymes: or elles she sholde not recouer her losses, and be able to paye her rente. Lykewise the wardens of the bouchers in London: to thentent that they wolde haue but fewe bouchers to come oute of the contrye vnto the marketes in London: when they perceve eney yonge man of the Country that hathe newly sete vppe bouchers occupacon Resortinge vnto the markettes in London withe fleche, they by the Cullour of ther office and vndre pretense, that the saide fleshe is olde killid, or otherwise fawted will sell all his fleshe at halfe the price it is worthe, And thuse they will sarve hime twise or thrise vntill they haue vtterly ondon hime and dryven hime frome the Markete, or elles caused him to sell at souche highe and vn reasonable prise as the companey of Bouchers in london wolde haue hime to sell at: And thuse vndre the coulour of a Common weale they vse souche extreime tyrraney and Cruelnes that it

wolde pitty a man's harte to be holde it: I maruell therfor that this foresaid auctorrite is not taken a waye frome the foresaid officers, seinge that the longe experience haue so well declarid that the foresaid settinge of prices of victuall, do nothing at all bringe downe the highe price therof. But I marvell mouche more at those men which have not only all Reddy seine the successe of price settinge, but also the sucesse of the moste parte of proclamacons and penaull Stattutes, and yet will holde oppinion this present derthe of victuall may be redressid bi setting of prices vppon victuall, but surly it is not the settinge of lowe prises that will aney thinge a mende the matter. But it muste be the takinge awaye of thoccation of the high prices. Yet I will not saye naye but the Rumor therof that souche lowe prices shoulde haue bine sette at a certen daye wollde haue donne very well, for the dought therof wolde haue cawside maney thinges to haue fawlen some thinge of price, And also haue cawsid maney men they shoulde not haue letten ther groundes at so highe rente as they shoulde elles haue donne. And also the proclayminge of souche prices at a certen daye wolde somethinge haue quiettid the myndes of the Commons, but now that they [*sic*, the] proclamacon shall immediatly take effecte, The commonaltye shall sone perceve that it will eyther Doo no good at all or elles mouche hurte, For yf it be not obseruide as it is not lyke to be then dothe it non goode, and yet it bringeth the people to a fardre disobedience. if it be so obseruide that nothinge be solde aboue the price rated in the proclamacion, then shall ther not halfe so mouche no nor the forthe parte of so mouche victuall be brought vnto the market as it was wonte to be: And what thronge and striffe is ther thene lyke to be who shall fyrste catche vppon that which commith. And what shall thother sorte thene doo which cane gette non for no monney. They will surly spoyle for it before the[y] famishe and though it were a hundreth tymes proclaymede hight treason. And if it shoulde come ther vnto (god graunte they doo no worse) But here vnto some mane will saye that ther is a good prouison in the proclamacion if the market slake that the Justicis of peace and other officers shall se the market fornesshede frome the farmes nexte adioninge. But surly I thinke if the Lorde Mayour of

London and all thofficers that he hathe dide nothinge elles but provide vitall for the Cittye, yet shoulde they not be souche means provide to serve London two monthes: but that ther shoulde be Seven tymes so muche more scacitie, then ther was yett. For how cane hit be that they nere London which paye x *s.* or xiij *s.* iiij *d.* for an Acre of grownde, shoulde sell ther butter by the pounde so goode chepe, as they which dwell Seven or eyght schore myles frome London paying not the forthe penney so muche rente for the lyke grounde. And some grounde becase it yeldeth far better Chise, and fare swetter and better coulorde butter thene maney other groundes dothe, hathe alwaies vppon that Consideracion beine set vppon a higher rente. And some one pounde of Chise is well worthe iij pounde of the moste parte of other Chise. And surely if the proclamacion be kepte ye shall neyther haue eney muttons butter or Chise solde eyther in eney Market or other where for the space of one fortenight or a monthe before mighelmas, nor like wise so longe before hallomas, by cawse the Sellers will tarry so longe for the higher price, before this proclamacion the Richer sorte hade alwayes ther belly full of vitall were it neuer so deare, but the pore sorte hade maney a hongrey meall. This Proclimacon cannot bringe to passe that ther shall nowe be Inoughe to serve bothe sortes. But as I said before the derthe of all thinges cannot be taken a waye in deade excepte all the cawses therof be fyrste taken a waye, and then with outte doubte accordinge to the moste aunctiente and trewe principle in phisike: *Cessant* [*sic*] *causa, cesset* [*sic*] *effectus.*

A Breif Resitall of the Chiefe effecte of the contentes of this Boke: Capit Vndecimo:

I haue here in this littell boke declarede that this presente dearthe of all thinges muste be remedied by these fyve means Folloinge, Firste by gyuinge lese price in the mynttes for golde and Siluer, Secondarelly by destributinge the greate shippe pastures in to Diuers mens occupieng that is by the setting of a Subsidie of three pence a Shippe, onlye of all them which haue a boue the nombre of two hundred: Thyrdely by cawsinge all theme which shall yete Fleshe vppon the Fishe dayes to paye

yerly for ther license vnto the Fissher men. Forthely by rating of the Common groundes according vnto euery mans tenure. And Fiftely to suffer all kinde of parsons quietly to sell all kinde of vitall in the market at whate price he canne. And furthermore I haue herein declarid that by the putting downe of our Superflues hollidiayes and by the settinge of a Subsidie of fyve Shillinges of the pounde of certen wares comming into this Realme in the Leue of the Relif which is now graunted. The kinges maiestie maye gayne in his myntes by the Coyninge of Bullion cominge frome be yonde the Sees Tene or Twelve hundreth Thowsande poundes yerly towardes the maintenunce of his warres and besides that the commons of this Realme to be also yerly enriched vj or vij hundred thowsande pounde more. And the kinges maiestie to haue also therby a greate reuenew in his custome howse, and yf the kinges maiestie maye in stede of the Relif which he now hathe vppon clothes haue a Subsidie vppon plate during three yeres His maiestie shall also then gaine presently wonderfull greate sommes of money therby in his mynttes. Considre now moste gracious prince how that the devine prouidence of god hath ordeyned and appoinctede you during the kinges mynoritie not only to represse redresse and reforme thabvsis in Religion, as your grace hathe all reddye donne but also during the mynoritie besides the protection of this his Realmes so to continew his clayme and tytle towardes the realme of Schotlande, and so to revenge his quarrell againste that Trayterus knotte. I meane the brekers of his moste godly pretenside marriage, that all souche faulse periured persons eneymies to godes treweth and traytors to the Common Wealthe of ther owne country, may be confounded, but thes warres againste souche mighty eneymyes cannot be mainteignede nor aney while contynued with oute wounderfull greate expence of money. And souche greate sommes of money cannot be here leviede of the commons in souche sorte as Subsidies was wonte to be Leviede with oute greate greate [*sic*] grutching of the Commonalty, and no lese danger of tumultes vnto the greate parrell of the kinges maiestie and of your grace and of the hole estate of the realme, wheras if the kinde of the Subsidies which I haue here devised were onse grauntid but for ij or iij yeres the

commons shall perceve souche prouffit and commoditie therbye redounding vnto theme, that they will then make sute to haue the saime Subsidies all wayes to contynew. For by these foresaid means we shall haue all kinde of victuall at halfe the price it is now at. And by the meanes of the rysinge agayne of the exchange, we shall haue clothe, worstede, Leade, Tynne, Iron, and all such substanciall ware of this realme, with all other wares of be yonde the Sees excepted, in the Subsidie at a chepper price then they be now at by twenty pence in euery Fyve shillinges at the leaste. And as for Sylkes and Wynes with all souche other lyke kynde of wares which be here only thinges of Superfluitye for the Richer sorte of men, to bestow ther money vppon all souche kinde of wares, we shall fyrste haue thorow the Risinge of thexchaunge, cheper then the[y] nowe be by Sixe shilling and eyght pence in the pounde, and we shall haue them rase agayne of that by means of the Subsidie fyve Shillinges of the pounde. so that we shall haue those vnnecessary wares also somethinge cheper then they nowe be. And if it maye please your grace to cawese immediately proclamacion to be made, that the kinges maiestie by thaduice of your grace and the reste of his honorable counsayll for the writinge donne of price of all thinges is resoluede Resolued [*sic*] to coyne fyner Siluer and therfor is determyned to gyve in his mynttes but Forty pence for the ounze of Fyne siluer and but thyrtye nyne shillinges for the o[n]ze of fyne golde. And that it be declaride in the said proclamacon, that for asmouche as this thinge cannote be presentely donne, for that the marchaunt men ventering in the partes of beyonde the See, hauinge no warninge nor knowledge therof might chaunche to haue in ther handes at this present souche quantitie of Bullion at souche higher price as myght be vnto ther vtter vndoinge. Therfor the kinges maiestie to signefye vnto all men by the sayde proclamacon that after the feaste of saincte Michaell tharchangell next comminge, his maiestie will gyve but thyrty nyne shillinges for the ounz of fynne golde, and but forty pence for the ounz of fyne Syluer. And that after the same feaste the Angell Noble be curraunt but for Sixe shillinges and eight pence, the halfe Angell and Ryall after the same Rate. Vppon this proclamaccon the marchaunt men will knowe

certenly that the price of wares will faule accordinglye, wher-vppon withoute doubte they will immediatly faule in price of all ther wares: Lykewise all gentillmen that haue eney vndre standinge will ther vppon perceve that the price of all thinges muste neddes faull. so that immediatly the greate fantasye towardes woull will waxe coulde, and then they will offer to lette ther groundes better chepe which thinge will cawse a godlye staye to be presently a monges the commonaltye. And after mychelmas when eney siluer bullion shall come vnto the mynttes as I doubte note, if your grace will gyve me leaue to cawse good plentye to be brought thither within a Tweluemonthe. Than maye the kinges maiestie of euery thowsande poundes of Syluer bullion, cawse one hundrethe poundes worth to be coyned in grottes of souche bignes weight and fynes, as were coyned in the tyme of kinge Henry the Seventh. Wherin his maiestie shall gayne nothinge by the Coynage. And then his maiestie maye coyne all the Nyne hundrethe poundes at souche basenes as his maiestie now makethe. Wherby his maiestie shall gayne clerly a boue towo thowsounde and fyve hundred poundes. Some foke perchaunce will thinke that it cannot well stonde with it selfe that we shoulde haue bothe fyne money and base money also. But it shall agree with hit selfe euen as well as did the fyrste coyne of Testornis and the Laste which wente all wayes both at one value withoute eney difference, the fyrste neuerthelese hauing more then twise so moucho siluer in hime then the laste hade: but be cawse that the kinges maiestie in his mynttes gaue no gaynes for the beste therfor they wente bothe at one value. So shall the fyne Coyne and the base coyne the kinges maiestie gyuing no gaynes goo as the fyne coyne dothe. And if they which will haue base money for ther bullion may haue their money payed presently And they which will haue fyne Coyne to tarry for it a quarter of a yeare, vppon a pretense that ther is but two or thre Coynes of the same money, then will the moste men sonner take the base money to be payed presently then to tarry enney whyle for the fyne money bothe beinge curraunt at one rate. But if I shoulde goo a boute herein to answere euery obiection that maye be made a gaynste my Device, I shoulde then make a very longe boke. Therfor I

desier your grace that they which make enney obiection to the contrary herof, may entytle ther obiection in a peace of paper. Ande I doubte not but [I shall] Answere it sufficiently, And thus I make an ende of this littell boke. Desieringe your grace to accepte it in good parte And I shall according to my bounden duty dayly praye vnto gode for the longe preservation of your grace in helthe prosperite and honour.

3. CROWLEY ON USURERS, 1550.

["One and Thyrty Epigrammes," in Select Works of Robert Crowley, ed. J. M. Cowper (E.E.T.S., 1872), p. 49.]

A Certaine man had landes, little thoughe it were;
And yet wold faine haue liued lyke a gentleman's peare.
Of thys lande he made sale, and toke readye golde,
And let that for double the rente of the lande that was solde.
Than came there a broker, and sayde if he woulde do
As he woulde aduise hym, he shoulde make of one penye two.
'Marye that woulde I fayne do' (quod this vsurer than),
'I praye the teache me the feat if thou can.'
'You shall' (sayde thys broker) 'lende but for a monethes day,
And be sure of a sufficiente gage alwaye,
Wyth a playne bill of sale, if the day be not kept,
And se that ye do no causis accepte.
Than muste you be sure that your intereste be
One penye for a shyllynge, and thre pence for three.
So by the yeres ende, twelue moneths geue twelue pens,
For the vse of a shyllynge; lo, I haue tolde you all sens.'
Than saide this vsurer, 'this matter goeth well,
For my twentye pounde lande, that I chaunced to sell,
I shall haue foure hundred pounde rente by the yere,
To lyue lyke a Lorde, and make iolye chere.'
Than came there a Prophete, and tolde thys manne playne,
That h[e]auen is no place for suche vnlawefull gayne.
'Why, sir' (quod this Vsurar) 'it is my liuynge.'
'Yea, sir' (quod this Prophet) 'but it is not youre calling;
You are called to liue after twentye pounde by yere,
And after that rate ye shoulde measure your chere,

Tyll God did encrease you by his mercifull wayes,
By encreasynge youre corne, and youre cattell in the leyes;
Whyche encrese wyth your landes you are bounde to employe,
To the profite of all them that do dwell you bye. . . .
But chieflye to lende youre goodes to vsurie,
Is a thinge that you shall moste dearelye abye;
For Christe saieth in Luke that the heathen do so.
Take hede lest ye flytte frome pleasure to woe.'

4. MEMORANDUM PREPARED FOR THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE EXCHANGES, 1564.

[Harl. MSS., 660., 38, ff. 107 *seq.*]

A Conference of the waightes of Bullyone and vallues of the sylucre moneyes of England, and the sylucr moneyes of the Lowe Contreyes, with a Comparrysone of the Exchange vsed to and froe betweene the Burse of Anwarpe and Lumbardestreete in London. Whearin is discussed, not only howe howe [sic] muche a pound of Englishe moneye is worthe of flemyshe moneye, but also howe the sleightes and Cuninges of the vsage of the Exchange hathe byne, and maybe, to the greate losse and hinderaunce of the comone wealthe of England, and howe the same maye be remediede, met withall and turnede to the benefyte of this Realme of Englande. Written vppon occassyone of a Commyssione graunted by hir Maiestie vnto my lord Tresorore and to Sir Frauncis Knowles, Sir Waltere Mildmaye, and Sir William Cordalle, Knightes, for the spessyall Inquiry of the Convenyencyes of the matteres of the Exchange and the Inconvenyences, and Fynyeshed in the monthe of February Anno 1564, *and in the* 7th *yeare of hir maiestes Raigne.*

[The memorandum opens with lengthy calculations designed to establish the mint par of exchange between English and Flemish currencies. This passage is omitted, as it is highly technical. Its application is shown by what follows.]

Nowe that the true vallues of the moneyes and also the

mynte vallues are thus truly discussed, it shalbe necessary to Consydere howe the vsuall Exchange betwene Antewerpe and Lomberdestreet hathe differed from the sayd true vallue.

And heare it appearethe that yf our Englishe moneye be of no bettere vallue then—[*sic*] this laste Comparrison by equall Respecte is set foarthe, yet synce the Exchange in Lomberdstreete hathe Comonely gone vntylle this presente shipping all the Queenes Highnes Raigne at or vnder (22)[1] shillinges (6)$^{d.}$ flemyshe for vsance, and since the gayne in delyuery vppon the Exchange dothe Comonly beate about and vpon (10) pound in the hondred, therefore our Englishe pounde hathe byne comonly vnder prised by the Exchange in Lomberdstreete (9) pence ½ penye flemyshe. But yf our Englishe money doe hold his vallue Respectyvely after the firste Comparrysone afforsayd, then hathe our Englyshe pounde byne vndere prised by the sayd Exchange in Lomberdstreete (13) pence flemyshe, because the Exchange thear, after (10) poundes in the hundred gayne to the delyuerere, shold have byne (2) pence flemyshe aboue the true vallue of the sterling Englishe pounde of moneye.

The best valu and the worst value aforsayde of English money are compared to the Exchange.

Affore hathe byne declarind [*sic*] the gainefull stelynge ouere of Englishe moneye by the ouer lowe fallinge of the Exchange. But nowe is also to be Consydered what greater Losse this Realme sustaynethe thearby.

And hear wee muste noat that the Exchange is the gouernere of prises of all warres enterchangablye vented betweene this Realme and the Lowe Contreyes, because the greateste quantetye of wares transported ether outeward or inwarde is boughte by money takene vppe by Exchange, and also because, althoughe the wares be boughte with his owne moneye, in sellinge of his hondred poundes worthe of wares he Consydered what gaynes he myght have made by Exchange of somuche moneye, and he makethe the price of his wares accordingly or to some Convenyent overpluse.

The Exchange gouernethe the Prices of wares.

As for Example, one takethe vppe in Lomberdestreete (100) pound Englishe for vsance at (22) shillinges (6) pence flemyshe. Nowe transportynge Englishe warres boughte therwithe into Flaunderes, he needethe make no greater prise thearof but to Aunswere his Exchange, which Comethe to (112) pounde (10)

Example of Englishe wares sold in Flaunderes.

[1] The brackets round the figures are in the original MS.

shilling flemyshe, savinge for a Resonable overpluse to beare his Charges and to Answere his Stocke.

Example of strange wares sold in Englande.

Agayne for Example, one takethe vppe at Antwerpe (110) pound (16) shillinges (8) pence flemyshe for vsance at 22 *s.* 2 *d.* flemishe, for the Exchange at Anwerpe keepethe about (4) *d.* flemyshe vnder the Exchange in Lomberdstreete, and transportethe strange warres boughte thearwith in to England. Nowe he muste needes raise his prise thearof, bothe to Answere his Exchange, which is a (100) pounde Englishe, and also for some reasonable ouerpluse to beare his Charges and to amend his stocke.

Howe the hier the Exchang getteth 13 peniworth of ware more for the Pound English then the Lower Exchang doeth.

Hearby you maye see the Reason which the Risynge or fallynge of the Exchange dothe gouerne the prise of wares. And hearvnto it may be Added that, yf the Exchange at Antwerpe weare kepte vppe at (23) shillinges (3) pence, which is (3) pence lese then the true vallue of the Englishe pounde after the firste Comparrysone afforsayd, which (2) [*sic*] pence muste be defalkede for the Intereste, then Consequently of Strange wares, as for Example, yf flexe weare at Antewerpe at (1) peny the pound the Marchante buyenge theare for England shold have (13) pounde of flaxe moare for every pounde of his sayd moneye takene vppe by Exchange theare then he Can have so longe as the Exchange is kept vnder at (22) shillinges (2) pence. Therfore the Lacke of his (13) pounde of flaxe growinge vppon the same so lowe falling of the Exchange muste needes bee supplyed by sellynge of the Reste somuche the dearrer.

The Reason of the Exchange goinge Lower at Antwerpe then in London.

Thear is good Reasone whie the Exchange at Antewerpe goethe aboute (4)$^{d.}$ flemyshe lowere at vsance then the price of the Exchange is in Lomberdstreete, for by the Exchange at Antewerpe the pound Englishe beinge the valluere as not payd for and Answered vntyll a monthe after the delyuerey of flemishe money for the same, and by Exchange in Lomberdstreete the pound Englishe beinge the valuere is payd a monthe before the deliuery of his vallue in flemyshe money for the same. So that when the Englishe pounde is payd for amonthe before hande, then the prise thearof in Reasone oughte to be the lese; And when the Englishe pounde is not payd for in flemyshe money vntylle a monthe aftere hand, then the price in Reason oughte

to be the moare. But heare you maye perceave that this necessaye and faire name Exchange might be truly termed by the odious name of buyenge and sellinge of money for tyme, otherwise Called vsurye.

Here is also to be noted that when the Exchange in Lomberd-streete for vsance goethe at (22)$^{s.}$ (6)$^{d.}$ flemyshe, and the re-exchange thearof at Antwerpe for vsance goethe at (22) shillinges (2) pence flemyshe, then thearby the Englishe pounde is vallued worthe iuste (22) shillinges (4) pence flemyshe, because the (2) pence more then the value for the Exchange in Lomberdstreete is the hiere and the intereste that the delyuerere dothe bargayne to have for delyueringe and lettynge out of his Englishe pound a monthe before hande, and the (2)$^{d.}$ lese then the vallue for the Exchange at Antwerpe is the hiere and Intereste Cutte of by the delyuerere for lettynge oute and delyuereynge of his flemyshe moneye amonthe before hande.

The middle Price between the Exchange in Lomberdstreet and the Exchang at Antwerpe is the value of the Englishe Pound after the Exchange.

It maye also be Remembered that (2) pence for the Intereste of a pounde for one monthe is (2$^{s.}$) for the vse of a pounde for (12) monthes, the which (2) shillinges is the tenthe parte of a pounde at vsance, that is to saye for a monthe is aftere (10) pound in the hondred for the whole yeare.

Howe the exchange maketh (x) in the hondreth gaine.

Nowe for as muche as the true vallue of a (100) of Englyshe moneye aftere the fyrste Comparison is worthe (117$^{li.}$ 1$^{s.}$ 9$^{d.}$) flemyshe, and yet aftere the Exchange of (22) shillinges (6) pence in Lomberdstreete and (22$^{s.}$ 2$^{d.}$) flemishe at Antewerpe the Englishe pounde per medyum is vallued but at (111$^{li.}$ 13$^{s.}$ 4$^{d.}$) flemyshe, therfore this vnder valluinge exchange aftere the said firste comparrysone hathe made England to sell Englishe wares vnder the vallue 5$^{li.}$ 8$^{s.}$ 5$^{d.}$ and $\frac{21}{79}$ partes flemyshe in a (100) poundes worthe therof Englishe, and the same Exchange hathe made Englande to paye too deare for a (100) poundes worth Englishe of strange wares by the vallue of 5$^{li.}$ 8$^{s.}$ 8$^{d.}$ [*sic*] and $\frac{21}{79}$ partes flemishe also.

Englandes lose by the vent to and fro of (100) Pound English worthe of wares thorough the Exchange after the Best vallue of Englishe money.

Heare nowe followeth a breefe of the Lose that Englande sustaynethe by the fallynge of the Exchange so lowe as to (22$^{s.}$ 6$^{d.}$) flemyshe in lomberdstreet and to (22$^{s.}$ 2$^{d.}$) flemyshe at Antewerpe, sett out in (4) braunches accordinge to the (4) diverse Comparrisones of the moneyes afforsayd. The firste some in

The Declaracion of the (4) braunches ensuinge.

Euery Braunche is Englandes Lose in Exchange and Re-Exchange of (100) pounde Englishe transported into wares, the second some in Euery Rowe is Englandes Lose in the Exchange and reexchange of (100,000$^{li.}$) englishe likewise vented to and froe in wares.

The (4) Diuers Estimats values of English money makes thes (4) Diuers Losses.

England losethe aftere the

	li.	s.	d.		li.	s.	d.	
1st Comparison—	10	16	10 $\frac{42}{79}$	—	10843	17	7 $\frac{51}{79}$	fl.
2nd Comparison—	9	19	8 $\frac{10652}{47163}$	—	9984	5	5 $\frac{40325}{47163}$	fl.
3rd Comparison—	9	0	1 $\frac{43957}{47163}$	—	9008	0	11 $\frac{1084}{47163}$	fl.
4th Comparison—	8	0	7 $\frac{127}{199}$	—	8031	10	6 $\frac{38}{199}$	fl.

Howe the stealinge ouer of money and the Lose in vente of wares is mesurede.

Nowe you maye perceave that as the smalle lose that England hathe sustayned by the stealynge ouer of Englishe moneye maye be mesured betweene the vnder prise of the Exchange in Lomberdstreete and the prise of Englishe money to be sould at Antwerpe mynte, so Englandes greate lose in the Entercourse of wares muste be mesured betweene the vnderprised Exchange outward and homward, and the true vallue of Englishe moneye in flemyshe quoyne tryed by the Equall comparisone of fyne syluer contayned in either of them.

How priuat gaines may be made when the Exchange goethe too Lowe.

It is also to be noted that the privat gayne by the vnder-valluinge of Englishe moneye in the exchange dothe Consyste in deliuerynge of money vppon the exchange at Antewerpe and in receaving of money vppon the Exchange in Lomberdstreete, which thinge the Cvnynge Bankeredes [*sic*] and Subtylle money merchantes doe welle vnderstande.

Of risinge and faling of the Exchange and wherin the[y] consiste.

A note also maye be had that the Exchange dothe some tymes rise and fall, as some tyme vppon necessarye occasione and sometymes by Cunynge handlinge, vppon the whiche Risynge and fallynge thes termes are vsed, the exchange goethe Highe or it goethe Lowe; in which exchange the pounde of Englishe money maye be called the vallewer, because the Risynge and fallynge and the goinge highe or Lowe of the Exchange dothe Consyste in the more or the Lese that is delyvered or receavinge of flemyshe money for and in Exchange of a pound of Englyshe moneye.

The Exchange dothe rise in Lomberdstreete vppon necessarye occassyon when many greedy takeres vp of money ther doe teache the delyuerers there to make their owne gayne by Raysynge of the Exchange. The which greedy takynge vp of money thear happenethe espessyally vppon a soddene intellygence that thear wilbe presently a good falle and a greate vente of Englishe ware in the Lowe Contreyes, whervppon Merchantes of all Nacones rune hedlonge to the Exchange for moneye to buye and transport accordingly. A Lyvely Example whearof was in the Late Rysynge of the Exchange in Lomberdstreete vppon the sodene oppenynge of the vente and entercourse in to the Lowe Contreyes.

How the Exchange risethe necessarlelye in Lomberdstreet by the Deliuererse.

An[n]o. 1564.

Contrarywise, the Exchange dothe fall at Antwerpe necessarely occasyoned when the greedy takeres vppe of money theare doe teache the delyuereres theare to make theire owne gayne by fallynge and bringinge downe of the Exchange. So that yf before and vntylle the sayd openynge of the sayd [*blank in MS.*] England had kepte it selfe as barrene of strange wares as Antewerpe and the Lowe Contreyes kepte them of Englyshe wares, then the greedynes of takynge vpe of money at Antewerpe for vente of theire wares countervallynge the greedy takynge vpe of money in Lomberdstreete for vente of our wares wolde have stayed the Exchange from Risynge so highe, for the ferventer occasyone, in whether place soeuer it dothe happen, will force the Exchange in other places to yeld and followe accordingly.

How the exchange falethe necessareli at Antwerpe by the Deliuerers.

Thear is a contrary Course of the Exchange necessarely happenynge when the greedy delyuereres thearon doe teche the takeres vpe to make theire owne gayne. As yf this greedynes happen in Lomberdstreete by makynge ouere of the Princes money for paymente of debtes beyond the seas or otherwise, then the merchantes will fylle the Exchange ther againe. Yf this greedynes happen at Antwerpe by makenge overe of greate somes of Englishe merchantes money aftere a quicke salle and redy payment therof for their Englyshe wares or otherwise, then the takynge vpe will rayse the Exchange there. And the violent occasyon therof, in whether place soever it happene, will cause the Exchange in the other place to followe accordingly.

How the Exchange falethe in Lumberdstreete and risethe at Antwerpe by the takers vpe.

Of risinge and falinge of the exchange [by] handlinge and who Prouoketh ther vnto.

The Rysynge and fallynge of the Exchange by Cunynge handlynge dothe spessyally Consyste in the Conspyrasye of the greate Bankeres when thes violente occasyones afforesaid doe not disappoynte them. And because the keepinge of the Exchange Lowe is the Comone benefyte of the Lowe contreyes gayned vppon the Comone detrimente of the Realme of England, therfore it seemethe that the Counsell of the Finaunces in the Lowecontreyes have Contynually spvrred the Bankeres of Antewerpe to keepe the Exchange Lower then the iust proportyon of the vallues of the moneyes of eythere Realme hathe duly Required.

Howe the Bankers do Cuningly falle the Exchange at Antwerpe.

The Bankeres doe cunyngly fall the exchange at Antwerpe when foreseeing that shortely a good masse of warre wilbe boughte vppe there for Englande by money takene vppe by exchange. They then forthwith take vpe all the moneye of the Burse to keepe a whyll in their fewe handes, and within fewe dayes aftere, when the tyme of buyinge of ware for Englande dothe drive many to the Exchange for money to buye withall, then the Bankeres, possessinge almoste all the money by their prevensyone, maye by their Consperrasye fall the price of the Exchange thear to their Convenyente gayne.

How the Bankers do cuningli Rais the Exchange at Antwerpe.

The Bankeres maye cunyngly rayse the Exchange at Antwerpe when, foreseeinge shortly that a good masse of moneye wilbe made ouer in to Englande by exchange by reasone of a quicke salle that presently is in hand of Englishe warres, then they forthewithe delivere out vppon the Exchange all theire moneye in their owne handes and they Refuse to take vppe money at other menes handes, and within fewe dayes aftere, when the tyme of makynge ouere of that good masse of money for England dothe drive many to the Burse to delyuere the same vppon the Exchange, then the bankeres, havinge fylled the Burse with their moneyes and with their forberinge to take moneyes vpone the Exchange, maye by their Conspirarsye Rayese the Exchange theare to their Convenyente gayne.

The bankeres Pollicy in makinge money to Antwarpe by the Exchange at the sight.

The Bankeres also vse this pollesye, that when they se good occasyone to have plentye of money at Antewerpe, then they Cause theyre factores in England to make ouer all their money at the syghte, that they maye have it Redy there to serve there foreseene occassyon.

The Bankeres have alwayes this Aduantage, that every man lightely will delyuer by Exchange in to their handes a peny at the leaste in the pound bettere cheape then they vse to delyuere vnto otheres, because they are accounted sure mene to delle withealle.

The Bankers gayne by means of his Credit.

The lyke Connynge to that afforsayd concernyng Raysynge and fallynge of the Exchange may be vsed in Lomberdstreete; savinge that looke what pollesye the Bankeres doe vse for fallynge the Exchange at Antewerpe, the same pollesye the money merchantes muste vse to Raise the Exchange in Lomberdstreete; and Contrarywise, looke what pollesye the bankeres doe vse for Raysynge the Exchange at Antwerpe, the same pollesye the money merchantes muste vse to fall the Exchange in Lomberdstreete.

The like cuninge of raysing and fallinge may serve in Lomberdstreet the names transposinge ther Places.

Remedyes to meete with the devices that doe fall the Exchange and keepe it so farre to Lowe to the great and intollorable lose of the wholle Realme of Englande.

The Cheefeste and the most proffytable Remedy is to gouerne this Realme by good pollecy in suche temperate soarte that the Strange wares vented in to this Realme yearly maye be of lese vallewe then our Englishe wares yearly vented out of the Realme shall amount vnto, the which may esely be brought to pase if wee wold tempere and forbeare the superfluous delycasye of our Expences of Strange wares, and of strange victualles, and withall yf our Englishe warres weare Caused to be wroughte to the beste value before they be vented, and also yf Necessary wares of strange Contreyes weare Caused to be made heare more plentefully; whervppon thes Eventes hearafter rehearsed wold followe.

What is the chefest remedi to rays and kepe vp the exchange and how it may be Done.

Fyrste, the ouervallue of our Englyshe wares will yearly bringe in Emperyall and frenche Crownes, for they are Corrante heare; wherby this Realme shalbe enriched and merchantes shall have plenty of money in Englande that is Corrante also in the Lowe Contreyes.

The vent outward ouer-ualuinge the vent inward will bring in french Crownes.

Secondly, because after (6) shillinges Englyshe a frenche Crowne, which is worthe (7) shillinges flemyshe in flaunderes, a pound of Englishe money is worthe (23) shillinges ($4^{d.}$) flemyshe, therfore when wee have plentye of thes Crownes here, yf the Exchange of Lomberdstreete doe not Rise so highe or to (2^{d}) flemyshe more

Plenti of French Crownes hear in Cuning merchants hands wille cause the exchange

hear to be forsakene yf it kepe too lowe which the Banckeres cannot suffer.

accordinge to the gayne to (10) pounde in the hondred after the accompte of vsance, then will the Cunynge Merchantes forsacke the Exchange in the streete and convay ouere there money by stelthe in Crownes to serve their turnes therwith at Antwerpe; and so for lacke of ordenary returne by Exchange in lomberd-street the bankeres and money merchantes shalbe driven to Raise the Exchange to an Equall vallue to renewe the Recourse therto againe.

How the ouer value of English wares wille cause the Exchange to ris at Antwerpe.

Thirdly, when the ouervallue of our Englyshe wares shall from tyme to tyme fyll our Englyshe merchantes purses at Antewerpe, then yf the Bankeres at Antwerpe shall keepe the Exchange downe Lowe, all the gayne shall falle and Redounde vnto the Englyshe merchantes, because they shal become great delyuereres vppon the Exchange there; which occasyon will force the Bankeres to keep vpe the Exchange, to the Comone benefyte of the Realme of England.

The risinge of the Exchange will caus the Merchantdizing of Frenche Crownes to cease.

Forthely, althoughe frenche Crownes have byne vallued heare amonge merchantes at (4) pence in the pound Englyshe aboue their Corrancy in this Realme, not because they are so worthe but because the Lowe keepynge of the Exchange hath made them so muche worthe to be convayed ouere in to flaunderes, but yf the Exchange wold keepe at (23s.) 3[d.] flemishe and vpwardes, then he that shoulde buye a french Crowne for more then (6s.) Englyshe to steale the same to Antewerpe shold be a loosere therby, because (6s) delivered in the Exchange wold be more worthe to him then a frenche Crowne; wherfore frenche Crownes then wold staye quietly in Englyshe mense purses.

The Conclusion.

Thus you see that this good principall afforsayd well observed wold by thes Eventes followinge not onely raise or keepe vpe the Exchange Convenyently, but also wold enriche this Realme infynytlye.

Another Remedie to rays the Exchange.

An other Remedye to meete withe the Bankeres and to defend or avoyde them to lowe Exchange is to procure and obtayne that Englyshe moneye maybe Corrant either in the Lowecontreyes or else in fraunce accordinge to the Iuste and full vallue thearof duly Comparred to the frenche Crowne, or Phillipes Dollore.

Howe the Curancy of Eng-

Wher vppon yf this Corrancy shalbe in the Lowe contreyes, forthewith (20s.) of Englyshe money wilbe worthe currante theare

(23s.) (2d.) flemishe at the leaste; nowe yf then the Bankeres shall keepe downe the Exchange beneathe the Currancye of Englyshe money theare, all other marchantes will sone fynd what proffyte may be made onely by delyueringe of mo[ney] vppon the Exchange at Antwerpe, and by stealynge of moneyes agayne out of Englande instyde of a Retorne by Exchange in Lomberdstreete; so that the Bankeres lackynge heare by takynge vpe of theire moneyes at Antwerpe will soone be driven to Rayse the Exchange, to the Comone benifyte of the Realme of Englande.

lishe money in flaunders wille rais the exchange.

Nowe yf this Currancye shalbe in fraunce, wheras nowe all the ouer vallue of our Englyshe warres in Respecte of our Enterchange with flanderes is Convayed or exchanged in to fraunce to Supply the vndervalue of our Englishe wares [*word illegible*] their superfluousely, then will our Englyshe merchantes convaye our Englyshe moneye into fraunce to supply their Lacke thear, and all the frenche Crownes that nowe they convaye or exchange in to fraunce they will then delyuere at Antwerpe vppon the Exchange for England; and when the Bankeres fynd the Englyshe marchantes to become hearby greate delyuereres vppon the Exchange for Englande, then they shalbe driven to Rayse the Exchange, for otherwise the greate proffyte of the Exchange will redound to the Englyshe merchant.

Howe the Currancy of Englishe money in fraunce Rais the exchange in flaunderes.

And althoughe England maye seeme hearby to be robbed of Treasure, yet I suppos it is a due meane to save muche Treasure with in England that the Realme hathe of Late byne spoiled of, for yf the Exchange hearby maye be kepte vppe, as the proportyoned vallues of moneyes of Eithere Realme dothe duly require, then will the price of Englyshe wares so Ryse beyond the sease, and the price of strange wares will so falle in England, that our ouervallue gayned thearby in our enterchange of marchandyes will bringe in or save a great delle of Treasure that the fallynge of the Exchange too lowe dothe defraude and spoylle us of.

The uentinge of moneyes out of England will saue treasur withein the Realm.

Some also peradventure wold iudge that, yf Phillips Dollores also shold be currante heare, that the Queenes highenes shold by this Currancye of moneyes entercangably loose some proffyte of hir mynte, by Reasone of the too muche plenty of the strange quoine that wold Come in beinge Currante within this Realme. But I suppos the Cleane Contrary: that yf, by our temperance

How gaine may be mad by Plenty of strange quoynes.

and polletyque abstenanse from strange wares, Questyonlese then an ouer vallue of strange quoyne shold come in to this Realme to the greate Benefyte thearof, that then Hir Highenes mighte make a private gayne thearof, ethere by Cryenge of it to be bullyone, and so to newe mynte it, orelse by Cryenge it downe Lowere agaynste the Recepte of hir Revenues or other paymentes, as I thinke they doe with strange quoynes in flaunderes, crienge it vpe agayne when the prince hathe plentye therof and greate paymentes to make.

The Conclusion.

Thus I suppos you see that the Currancy of Englyshe money in flaunderes or in fraunce, althoughe Phillipes Dollores weare also Currante in England without any discomodytye thearby, wold Raise the Exchange or keepe it vpe convenyentely to the syngulere benefyte of this Realme.

A 3d. Remedi to Rais the exchange.

An other Remedye to meet with the said devisores of fallynge and keepynge the Exchange to lowe is for the Queenes Highenes to have a banke of money of (10000li.) or moare in hir factores handes at Antwerpe.

Of twoe-sortes of Marchants.

And to make the matter more playne, it is to be noted that theare be at Antwerpe great Bankeres or money merchantes that vse the Exchange onely for gayne by marchandisynge of money, who lye watching to take advantage of the tyme and occasyone to falle or Raiese the Exchange to their moste proffyte. Thear be also merchantes traffyqueres of warres who vse the Exchange onely for Neede.

How the factor may rayes the exchange at Antwerpe.

Nowe when the merchante Traffyqueres come to the Exchange at Antewerpe to take vppe money to buye strange wares for Englande, then hir highenes factore, havinge suche a greate banque of moneye and dothe Respecte the proffyte of his Contrey more then his owne syngulere gayne, maye Rayse the Exchange by his greate delyuerye theron, althoughe all the bankeres conspire to the Contrary; and to Rayse the Exchange thear, when he shalbe the taker vpe, his owne private proffyte and the assente of all the Bankeres will prouoke him.

How the factor may Rais the Exchange in Lomberdstrete.

Agayne hir highenes sayd factore may allso keepe vpe or Rayse the Exchange in lomberdstreete by taking vpe of money theare at a highe prise when merchante Trafyqueres doe offer to delyuere and make Retornes of their moneyes. As for hir sayd

factores Raysinge of the Exchange in Lomberdstreete when he shall delyuere moneye there him selfe, he neede not to be byddene, for private proffyte callethe him thearvnto as well as the Comone welthe of Englande.

Thus have you harde howe hir highenes factore with a great banke of moneye maye Raise or keepe vpe the Exchange to the beste Comodyty for Englande, for thear are vnproffytable raisynges. The Conclusione.

Another Remedye or meane to raise or keepe vpe the Exchange is to Change and remove our ventynge place from Antewerpe and the Lowe Contreyes vnto Embden and so Estwardes; wher-vppon thes Eventes hearafter Rehearsed will followe: A foarthe Remedye Rayse the Exchange.

Fyrste, the greatest masse of our Englyshe wares shalbe neare[r] to the places wheare they are spent and Consumed then they weare before. The lowecontreyes doe not weare and consume our Englyshe Clothe, and as the further Carryage of our wares dothe aske a great prise for them, so the Bringynge of the sayd wares so neare vnto the Consumeres of them will make them better able to paye well for them there, because so muche carryadge is saved vnto them, as antewerpe is further from them, so that hearby some price willbe Raised of our Englyshe wares; espessyally synce many buyeres will Come to them thether that now are served either by their fewe traffyqueres to Antewerpe or onelye by styllyarde mene. How Englishe ware wilbe soulde derere.

Secondarely, our Englyshe merchantes shalbe neare vnto thos kynde of strange warres that are moste necessary for our Realme, as Pitche, Tarre, Masts, Clobbord, Seelinge, Dealbord, Corne, &c. And synce our Realme maye hearby be served of pyche and tarre by our owne merchantes, whearas nowe onely wee are served almoste onely with a fewe Styllyard mene, it muste needes bringe vs thes strange wares bettere Cheape in to Englande and Cause our merchantes practys further traffycque, to the greate benefyte of our Realme. How necessarily strange wareswi solde Better Cheape.

Thirdly, as this Raisynge of the price of Englyshe wares and the abatynge of the price of Strange wares is the Effecte of Raisynge of the Exchange for the benefyte of the Realme, so the Lacke of thos Caterpilleres the Bankeres of Antewerpe ther will occasyone our Englishe merchantes heare to beare the moare The occasion of raisinge the Exchange withe the Effect therof.

swaye in the Exchange ther, who will keepe it at suche Convenyent heighte as maye be agreeable to the vallue of our moneyes, to the moste synguler benefyte of our Comon wealle of England.

How Cutting of of young Englishe Merchants wille Raise the Exchange.

Forthely, hearby a greate number of yonge Englyshe merchantes would be cute of, which nowe thoroughe often lighte gaynes of oftene Retornes of Strange wares into England doe Excercise merchandise withe smalle stockes, who sellinge the strange wares hastelly and needfully Retorne the moneye therof still by delyuerynge the same vppon the Exchange in Lomberdstreete; wherfore they muste needes take suche prise thearof as the Takeres vpe, beinge Comonly the money merchantes, will sett vppon them; wherby the Exchange dothe fall or is kept Lowe.

The Conclusion.

Thus you see howe the Remouinge of our ventynge place forther of wold occasyon the Exchange to Rise to the greate benefyte of this Realme. And with all here is to be noted that by this meanes the Queenes Highenes and this Realme shall not be had in Contempte of the Lowe Contreyes, nor be in daunger of suche prohibiciones as of Late hathe byne made, nor yet be in feere of suche Imperious requeste as of Late have byne demaunded, to the perrelous preiudice of hir Highenes and hir whole Realme.

A fifte remedy to Auoid the falinge lowe of the exchange.

A fifte remedy for the raisinge the Exchange is to have order takene by hir Highnes that hir Costomes mayebe more truly Answered then heretofore they have byne; espesyally of Strange wares.

How the true paiment of Custome wille raise the exchange.

Whervppon the price of Strange wares beinge made deerer to the subiecte will cause the Inferriore soarte to leave the buyenge and vse of them, and the fraudulent yonge sorte of marchantes beinge hearby drivene to paye true Costom wilbe so driven to leave their occupyenge; which wilbe a spessyall occasyone of Raisinge the Exchange to the greate benefyte of this Realme. But hearvnto belongethe thes orderes followinge.

A large open wharfe afore the Custom hous.

Fyrste, an opene and Large wharfe muste be made in Londone, wher the Custom house bothe for Inwarde and outward maye stand; for otherwise the Costome Cannot be truly and duly Looked vnto, nether cane the Fravdes thearof be avoyded.

Secondly, strange marchantes and also Englishe and their factores muste be remoued and barred from their Lodginge and Fraudulent houses borderinge vppon the Tham[es] wharfe.

Remouinge of fraudulent houses.

Thirdly, the poundage of Strange wares mustbe exacted accordinge to the true value of the said wares.

Trew exactinge of Poundage.

And to Conclude, trusty men muste be appoynted to the due ouersighte of the sayd Customes for a year or twoe, and when the true revenewe maye be nearly Coniectured, the sayd Costomes wold be Lett to Ferme to hir highnes moste aduantage thorowghe out the Realme; which fermeres wold see the Costomes more truly payd then ever hir hir [*sic*] Highenes shall as longe as they are in hir owne offyceres handes.

The farminge out of the Costomes.

Thus you see by the generall discourse afforsayd what is sayd in Euery point. You see also of howe greate momente the matteres of the Exchange are, and and [*sic*] you see how necessary it is to have Chosen men appoynted by comyssyon to Consydere and beate out thes matteres to the bottom, that the Exchange and the dependances thervnto may be by their traville vnderstanded; although the Authorety to ordere and Execute the same be lefte to hir Highenes further pleasure.

The Conclusion generalle of the whole Discourse.

5. DISCUSSION OF USURY, WITH PROPOSAL TO NATIONALIZE EXCHANGE BUSINESS, 1570(?)[1]

[S.P.D. Eliz., Vol. LXXV., No. 54.]

A device for the remedyinge of some parte of the inconveniences which dayly growe in this realme by usury and drye exchaunge.

The manifold great inconveniences which dayly more and more growe in this Realme by the insatiable vice of usury, notwithstandinge the often and earnest admonitions given in sermons against the sayd vice by the zealous sinceare preachers of goddes wourde, hath caused me ofte tymes to wisshe that it might please god to move their hartes to set penne to the booke

[1] See the Proclamation prohibiting private exchange business, Vol. II. of this work, pp. 167-9.

in the devisinge of remedye for the sayd inconvenience, whome he hath indued with moost plentifull giftes of knowledge howe the same is to be reformed: what they have don which can do best herein I am utterly ignorant. But, being zealous that some better successe may followe so godly preachinge, I have or remedye to the sayd inconvenience followed thexample of the poore widowe which offered two mytes towardes the buyldinge of the temple of Jerusalem. Before I shall enter into the device for the remedye, I think it consonant with reason that I declare what I accompte to be usury, and what other practises be as hurtfull to the comon wealth as is usury, notwithstanding that the practisers thereof can not by lawe for any usurye be impeached.

Phillipp Melanchthon in his booke called *Epitome Philosophie moralis* in the title *de contractibus* diffineth usury to be that gayne which is taken above the thinge lent for the only acte of lendinge; for, sayth he, when more is payd then is borrowed when the borrower hath geven manifest cause of damage to the lender, that overplus is not usurye nor unlawfull; but that increase is usury and unlawfull which we covenaunt to receive for the acte of lendinge when the borrower giveth no cause of any losse. He utterly condemneth usury which is coloured by pretence of interest, but the takinge and makinge covenaunt to have trewe and ryghtfull interest he alloweth. His wourdes be these: *longissime differunt interesse et usura, leges ipse indicant equissimam et honestissimam esse compensationem eius quod interest. Commune et aequum interesse venit in omni contractu, concludo igitur quod liceat stipulari quanti interest damni emergentis ante moram. Nam verum interesse soluere non est usura, et h[a]ec compensatio deberetur iudicio boni viri etiamsi non interessisset stipulatio, nemo enim debet dare efficacem causam damni. Etsi altem obscurior est ratio de lucro cessante ante moram, tamen, si sit probabilis ratio, etiam concedendum est quod liceat stipulari quanti interest ante moram lucri cessantis.* Yt also appeareth as well by the difinition which Hostiensis maketh of usury, as likewyse by the difinition which Thomas Aquinas maketh, that trewe and unfayned interest is no usury; for Hostiensis saythe: *Usura est quodqunque solutioni rei mutuate*

accedit, ipsius rei usus gratia, pactione interposita. And Thomas Acquinas sayth: *Usura est quicquid preter sortem accedit sine iusto titulo siue sit* [*in*] *mutuis siue in contractibus.* And if trewe and unfayned interest be not usury, but dewe unto the lender by the lawe of nature, as not only Melanchthon but also the Doctores which he hath redde, as he sayth, do affirme, yt semeth to me that the Jewes were not forbidden by the xxij chapiter of Exodus to take such interest even of their owne nation, for the wourdes thear be but these: *Si pecuniam mutuam dederis populo meo pauperi qui habitat tecum, non urgebis eum quasi exactor, nec usuris opprimes.* But if the borrower ought by the lawe of nature to yeld unto the lender his unfayned interest, the lender, notwithstandinge this commaundement, might lawfully receive it, bycause that such unfayned interest is no usury.

But albeit that it alwayes hath ben and is lawfull unto the subiectes of other Christin nations, which be ruled by the civill lawe, to make their contractes in their lendinge of mony to have their lawfull unfayned interest, yet at this daye, and ever sith the first day of maye in the vjth yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Edward the vjth, it hath not ben lawfull unto any Subiecte of this Realme to lend, give, set owt, deliver or forbeare any somme of mony to any person or persons for any interest to be had, received or hoped for, over and above the somme or sommes so lent, gevin, set owt, delivered or forborne, by reason of a statute intituled an acte against usury made in the vth and vjth yeare of the sayd kinge. And althoughe it is not to be doughted but that the good meaninge of the makers and preferrers of that acte was to take awaye that usury which, under pretext of interest beinge not above tenne in the hundreth, might than be committed unpunisshed, bycause the same was lefte at large to the conscience of the lender, unpunisshable by a former statute, intituled also an acte against usury, made in the xxxvijth yeare of Kinge Henry theight, yet, since the makinge of the sayde last acte inhibiting the takinge of such interest and levinge skoope for practisinge as evell practises, farre more inconveniences have growen both in London and els wheare, partely by practisinge of fore bytinge usurye and corrupte chevisans, but cheifflye by

open usinge of drye exchaunge under colour of marchauntes exchaunge, as well as it is now used, and as fore bytinge for the moost parte is as playne usurye, and also as unlawfull, for that it is directlye against diuerse and sundry good, godly and profitable statutes heretofore made by aucthoritie of parliament, and farre degenerate from marchauntes naturall exchaunge, which was first diuised and used by the trewe dealinge marchauntes immediately after that princes did inhibit the cariadge of gould and silver out of their Realmes.

For before that tyme there was very litle or no other exchaunge used in England, but only thexchaunge then called the kinges exchaunge, which was made by the kinges exchaungers; that is to saye, to have presentlye delivered by thexchaungers in any place in this Realme whear the sayd exchaunge was keapt the coyne of this Realme for any foreyne coynes either of gould or silver, or for any molten bullyon lykewyse thear presently delivered, accordinge to the iust value of the gould and silver conteyned in the sayd foreyne coynes or bullyon, allowinge only unto the sayd exchaungers a certeyne [sum] for the coynage and other necessary chardges. But thinhibitinge of the cariadge of gould and silver did cause an other exchaunge to be frequented; and that was when any man was willinge to have a somme of mony exchaunged owt of one country wheras he had mony, into an other country whearas he would have it, he would seke for a marchaunt which had or should have mony dewe or growinge to be dewe for wares in the cuntrye whereunto he would make his exchaunge, and deliver unto the sayd marchaunt a certeyne somme of mony of the princes coyne whear he delivereth his mony, to have therfore such like somme of mony or nighe thereaboutes to be payd of the princes coyne whear he would laye his exchaunge, as the somme of mony delivered, if he should have caryed the same thither, woulde yeld at the princes mynte or place of exchaunge whereas he would have his mony by exchaunge to be layed. And althoughe the deliverer in such exchaunge receive agayne more or les nomber of ounces of fyne silver, or more or lesse carectes of fyne gould in thone coyne than he delivered in thother princes coyne, yet thexchaunge may for other considerations be agreable with equitie and not unworthy

the name of marchauntes naturall and lawfull exchaunge, yf such exchaunge were not, as it is, by acte of parliament prohibited for the surer advoydinge of the drye exchaunge.

Dry exchaunge is to deliver mony by exchaunge in one Realme to be payd in another Realme, whear the deliverer seaketh not to imploye his monyee either upon wares or otherwyse but only to exchaunge his sayd mony home agayne with lucre. For the advoydinge of this drye exchaunge diuerse and sundry statutes wear made in the tymes of the Raignes of Kinge Richard the second, Henry the iiijth, Henry the vth, and Henry the vjth, byndinge the receivers of the mony here by exchaunge to imploye the same within a certeyne tyme into wolles, clothes, lead, tynne, or other comodities of this Realme. But forasmuchas the marchauntes did still continewe to defrawde the good meaninge of the sayd statutes, one other statute was made in the third yeare of the Raigne of King Henry the vijth, that no man should make any exchaunge without the Kynges licence, nor make any exchaunge or rechaunge of mony to be payd within this land, but only such as the kinge should depute thereunto to keape, make and aunswere such exchaunges and rechaunges, upon the paynes in the statute of the sayd kinge Richard contayned, which was the forfaycture of the value of the mony exchaunged. And it appeareth by diuerse and sundry recordes that in the tyme of the Raigne of the sayd kinges diuerse persons wear sued in thexchequer for deliveringe of mony by such exchaunge withowt the kinges licence, and wear driven to obtayne their pardonnes for the sayd offences. Seinge than that the cariadge of mony from one Realme to an other is forbidden, it is necessarye for the trade of marchauntdice that there should be an exchaunge from one realme to an other, and forasmuch as all persons be inhibited to make such exchaunge without lycence, it is requisite that the prince should give lycence under some bodye to make such exchaunge, and so I suppose that Kinge Henry the vijth mynded to do when the sayd acte was made.

There have ben of late some usurers which, for lack of learned Councell in makinge of writinges and devises for the clokinge of their usurye, have ben impeched in thexchequer upon the statute of usurye, and therby driven to greatt chardge in learned

Councell and otherwyse for the defence of their corrupt causes. Whearby all the old vsurers are now become so ware, wylye and subtyle, that they will not lightly come in the daunger of that vsury which is punisshable by the statute of vsury, but do converte their mony either to drye exchaunge or else to corrupte chevisans, that is in buyinge of wares to thonly intent to sell the same wares agayne in shiftes with dayes of payment at unreasonable prices unto theim which seke to make shifte for mony. The preachers do inveighe agaynst usury, and these old usurers now beinge only practisers in such dry exchaunge and corrupte chevisans do heare theim, and perswade theim selves that they do not nowe commit any usury bycause they have devised to escape the usury punisshable by the statute; so as they continewe their practises and the preachers their invectives agaynst usury, to the greatt greiffe of the audience, conceivinge that the wourd of god pronounced by the preachers is litle regarded, and to the further alienatinge of the hartes of thenymies of our religion, seinge no better sequell followe so much preachinge. And of the aforesayd ungodly practises these inconveniences must nedes followe if remedye be not therin provided. The riches of the cytie of London and in effecte of all this Realme shalbe in short tyme in the handes of a fewe men havinge unmercifull hartes and beinge unnecessary members of the comon wealth. And a greatt nomber of the rest of the subiectes of this Realme, being in their diuerse vocations necessary members of the comon wealth, by the unmercifull dealinge of these usurers, dry exchaungers and corrupt chevancers, shalbe either driven to banckrowting, or els so impoverisshed, that they shall not be able to do unto the quenes maiestie and unto the realme in tyme of warres any such service as they would willingly do if they wear of habilitie.

Usury and trewe interest be thinges as contrary as falshed is to trewth. For usury contayneth in it selfe inequalitie and unnaturall dealinge, and trewe interest observeth equitie and naturall dealinge. Usury tendeth to the destruction of the comon wealth, but the borrowinge of mony or any other thinge, yeldinge to the lender his trewe and iust interest, is one of the comodities which insue by the societie of man. And forasmuchas this

interest is permitted by the Civill lawe as a thinge moost lawfull and very necessary and agreable to nature, it is comonly used in Flaunders and in other realmes whear the Englissh nation do traffike. And although it can not be denyed but that usury under pretence of interest is thear often tymes practised, yet that usury, by reason of their admittinge of contracte for interest, is nothinge so fore bytinge as is either our usury or our sellinge of wares in shiftes with dayes of payment, or as is our dry exchaunge. And therefore their smale usury is not so much against their comon wealthes as our bytinge usury, our sellinge of wares upon dayes of payment and our dry exchaunge is against our comon wealth, no[r] their smale usury do not their comon wealth so much hurt as their sufferinge of contractes for interest doth profight their comon wealth. For by reason that they do admitte contractes for interest, mony is thear to be borrowed and lent unto their own nation for viij, ix or x in the hundreth, whearby their marchauntes may be greatt gayners by givinge dayes of payment in the sellinge of their wares unto our marchauntes, they makinge accompt in the prysinge of their wares after the rate of xij, xiij or xiiij in the hundreth for the forbearinge of their payment. And the greattest nomber of our marchauntes, dealinge farre deaper upon creadit than upon ready mony, arr driven rather to take wares upon creadit at the handes of the sayd Straungers than at the handes of the englisshe men, bycause they be at lesse losse by takinge wares at dayes of payment at the sayd Straungers handes than at Englisshe mens handes; for that Straunger which is thear of good creadit, although he be not wourth above one thousand pound of his owne goodes, may have v or vj thousand poundes in his handes of his cuntrye mens mony at very smale interest by reason of the sayd permission of contractes for interest, and therby inhabled in the sellinge of his wares unto our nation to give dayes of payment. Yf the makinge of contractes for interest wear universally forbidden, as well unto those nations with whome we traffike as it is unto us, it should not be so hurtefull unto our comon wealth as it nowe is, being forbidden only unto us and lawfull unto theim. For, as the case nowe standeth, althoughe we spende in this Realme no more value yearly in foreyne wares then the

wares be in value which we send yearly into foreyne realmes (both our wares and their wares being accompted at such rate as they be wourth to be sould for ready mony), yet by reason that their marchauntes do gayne so much of the greattest nomber of our marchauntes in sellinge their wares dearer than they be wourth for givinge dayes of payment, and with their dayly deliveringe of mony unto our sayd porer sorte of marchauntes upon the dry exchaunge, our Realme is by such meanes yearly impoverisshed of very greatt sommes of mony and their Realme so much yearly inriched, and we lykelye hereafter to have farre more banckrowtes than they.

For remedye of which inconveniences, althoughe I shall perchaunce neither hitt the marke nor yet perhappes come so nighe the marke as some other may do which shall shote at it hereafter, yet to the intent to provoke others to shote at it I will declare my device. Which is that it might please the Quenes maiestie, for the causes before recited, to set such a proclamation for the puttinge in execution the sayd statute of her highnes graundfather kinge Henry the vijth, and therupon to depute exchaungers both in london and at Hamborrowe, and in such other places whear our marchauntes have moost frequented traffike and whear exchaunge comonly lyeth, to make all exchaunge and rechaunge to and from England and the sayd places. And though her maiestie did but freely lycence a certeyne nomber of discreat and likely men, that it should be lawful unto theim and such other as they shall thinke good to associate unto theim to make exchaunge and rechaunge to and from all parties of beyond the seas at such rates and with such like orders and condicions as herein shalbe expressed, yt should remedye the moost parte of the inconveniences before recited. But if her maiestie would take the sayd exchaunge into her highnes owne handes, it should not only remedy the sayd inconvenience, but also be a greatt strengthninge of her maiestie, both against all sodeyne attemp[t]es of foreyne enemyes and also against all attemptes of Rebells, yf any hereafter should happen to rebell.

To accomplisshe this device a very great masse of mony must of necessitie be therin imployed. But the greatter that the

bancke shall be, the stronger shall her highnes force be at all sodeynes against her enymyes by reason of the habilitie of spedy furniture of mony. But if so be that her highnes have not otherwyse to furnissh that bancke, it may be raysed either by morgaginge of landes unto her highnes subiectes, lettinge theim inioye the rentes after the rate of xx yeares purchase, or by sellinge of Tenementes and cotages havinge therto no landes and whearwith her highnes is chardged with reparacions: for I suppose that smale profight hath come and lesse will come unto her maiestie by keapinge of such tenementes and cotages, the value of the tymber allowed for such reparations and thother charges required for such repayres beinge rightly considered.

First, that ther be in every place whereas this exchaunge shall be made three personns to be alwayes named by her maiestie, which shalbe called the quenes exchaungers or coferors of the quenes threasour for exchaunge, which coferors shall ioyntly kepe the threasour under three severall lockes, and stand ioyntle chardged unto her maiestie for all the threasour which shall come to their handes by reason of their sayd offices. The Device.

And that they deliver owt no mony aforehand unto any person by exchaunge but unto such good and sufficient men as they upon the consideracions hereafter to be expressed will aunswere for.

And that the sayd exchaungers be not compellable to deliver any mony in exchaunge aforehand unto any person, except the same person do either deliver a sufficient gage into the handes of the sayd exchaungers, or els be and remayne so sufficiently bounden unto her maiestie in obligation with such other suerties as the sayd exchaungers shall have good lykinge of, to aunswere all such mony as he shall take by exchaunge.

The sayd exchaungers as well to receive as also deliver mony by exchaunge, to be payd either at usans, dowble usans or treble usans, accordinge to the agreament betwene the sayd exchaungers and the takers or deliverers by exchaunge. And, for the mony which they shall deliver, they to take two bylles in such sort as heretofore have been accustomed in marchauntes exchaunge subscribed by the hand of the taker. And, for the mony which shall be by theim beforehand received to be repayed agayne by

exchaunge, they lykewyse to make two billes subscribed with the three coferors handes to be delivered to the deliverer of the mony to theim by exchaunge.

And that it be ordered that at whatsoever reconinge her maiesties sayd exchaungers shall deliver any some of mony by exchaunge at dowble usans, if the taker shall fortune not to paye or cause to be payd the mony agreed upon by his bill at the tyme and place by his bill apointed, yet nevertheles, if at thende of iiij monethes next after the takinge of the mony by exchaunge he, the sayd taker by exchaunge, or any other for him, shall repaye unto the sayd exchaungers in the same place whear he received the mony the like some of mony as he the sayd taker by exchaunge before received, and after the rate of iii *li.* vi *s.* viii *d.* in the hundreth pound for the interest and losse which the exchaungers shall sustayne for the not payment at the day and place apointed, the taker nor his suerties not to forfeite their bonde, nor to lose any pledge or gage for that cause taken, nor to sustayne any further losse or any discreadit.

And that it be also ordered that at whatsoeuer reconninge her highnes sayd exchaungers shall deliver any some of mony by exchaunge at treble usans, if the taker shall fortune not to paye or cause to be payd the some of mony agreed upon by his bill at the tyme and place by his bill to be apointed, yet nevertheles, if at thende of vj monethes next after the takinge of the mony by exchaunge he, the sayd taker by exchaunge, or any other for him, shall at the place where he before received the mony repaye unto the sayd exchaungers the like somme of mony as he the sayd taker by exchaunge before received, and after the rate of v *li.* in the c *li.* for the interest and losse which thexchaungers shall sustayne for the not payment at the day and place apointed, the taker nor his suerties not to forfeite their bonde, nor lose any their pledge or gage for that cause taken, nor sustayne any further losse nor any discreadit.

But if her maiesties exchaungers shall not paye or cause to be payd their billes of exchaunge for the mony by theim aforehand received, either at the iust day of payment or the next day after at the furthest, they to stand chardged to pay unto the

deliverer duble the some of mony by theim received and to be compelled trewly to paye the same.

And for any somme of mony which her maiesties exchaungers in London shall receive to paye the value therof at Hamborowe at dowble usans, her highnes sayd exchaungers to deliver their billes of exchaunge after the rate of xxiiij *s.* vi *d.* at the least for every pound here by theim received.

And the sayd exchaungers not to take above xxiiij *s.* viij *d.* of the currant mony at Hamborowe, for the pound currant money by theim delivered in London to be repayde for the same at dowble usans in Hamborowe.

And the sayd Quenes exchaungers at Hamborrowe to deliver their billes thear to pay in London xx *s.* currant mony of England for every xxiij *s.* x *d.* of the currant mony at Hamborowe by theim thear received to be repayed in London at dowble usans.

Nor they at any tyme to deliver under xxiij *s.* viij *d.* of currant mony at Hamborowe in exchaunge for the pound currant in England to be therfor repayd at dowble usans in London.

And for any somme of mony which her highnes sayd exchaungers in london shall receive to paye the value therof at Hamborowe at treble usans, the sayd exchaungers to deliver their billes of exchaunge after the rate of xxiiij *s.* vii *d.* at the least for every pound here by theim so received.

And the sayd exchaungers not to take above xxiiij *s.* ix *d.* of the currant mony at Hamborowe for the pound currant mony by theim delivered in London to be repayd for the same at treble usans in Hamborowe.

And her highnes sayd exchaungers at Hamborowe to deliver their billes thear to paye in London xx *s.* of currant mony of England for every xxiij *s.* ix *d.* of the currant mony at Hamborowe by theim thear received to be repayd in london at treble usans.

Nor they at any tyme to deliver under xxiij *s.* vii *d.* of the currant mony in Hamborowe in exchaunge for the pound currant in England to be therfore repayd in London at treble usans.

And for every vi *s.* here by the sayd exchaungers received in exchaunge for Rone, Paris or Lyons, they to paye thear the french crowne within one moneth.

And for every French crowne received by the sayd exchaungers at Rone, Paris or Lyons, they to paye heare within one moneth after vj *s.* of the currant mony of England.

And the sayd exchaungers to be accomptable yearly unto her maiestie, and to aunswere her maiestie, besydes the full somme of her highnes threasour to theim delivered in bancke, x *li.* yearly for every c *li.* which they shall have of her maiesties in their bancke, and to aunswere also her maiestie the moytie of the residewe of their gaynes which shalbe gayned above x *li.* in the c *li.* And they the sayd exchaungers to inioye the moitie of the residewe above x in the c to their owne uses, for their adventure, bearinge and standinge to all losses and bearinge all chardges. And thus shall they be well and largely rewarded for their travell, her maiestie as well recompenced for the losinge of the rentes of her highnes landes, a great nomber of her highnes subiectes releved, eased and saved from impoverisshinge by borrowing upon usury, the Realme yearly inriched and a greatt masse of threasour allwayes with very short warninge in a readiness for any her highnes weightie affayres.

[*Endorsed.*] Mr. Tavernor.

6. PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A PUBLIC BANK, 1576 (?).

[S.P.D. Eliz. Vol. CX., No. 57.]

1. Theise feauwe yeares that I have binne within this Realme, I haue moste soughte to haunte and haunted the compane of all honeste sorte of Inglisshmenne, and sought with kare and diligence to fynde whatt thing and wheare in the common people of this Realme moste fyndethe them selfs borthened and greved withall; and also what thing here is moste repugnante and contrary to the noble trafficque of marchaundys, wiche kausethe all realmes and prouincis to florisshe wheare hitt hathe fre and royall course. I fynde, that (amonge other trafficques and manners of doing wiche people nouwe in theise daies moste do vse) vsery to be an abomynable synne before godde, and contrary to all common weales, and is thatt wiche moste greuethe and annoyethe the common people, and wyll also (if in tyme good and decent meanes for remedy be nott fownde) nott only ouer

throuwe the trade and trafficque of marchaundys nouwe florisshing with in this Realme, butt in prosses of tyme more and more trobble and annoye the common people and common wheale of this Realme, by the giust giuggement of godde, who (aboue all other) detestethe and abborrethe this abominable sinne of vsery. And for thatt I moste desyre with all my lettle powre and industry to shouwe thaffection and good wyll I have to sarue the Quenes magestie, and spesshally by the derecktion and good meanes of your honnour (of whome I have alwayes fownde favor and good direcktion), I have thought hitt my dute to imploye thatt little talent and tyme wiche godde hathe geven me here to fynde owte somme lawfull, good and polleticque wayes, by the wiche (through your honnours good helpe and favor) siche dammegable practyses shortely maye be vtterly rooted owt of this Realme, to the great ease and contentement of the common people, all thoughe this wyll perchaunce mislyke somme particular parsons, that have neither charrete norre feare of godde; the wiche in my simple giuggement arre lettle to be waied to discontente and hinder theire gaine (beinge but a small nomber of vnsaciable persons) in respeckt of the whole generall commonweales commodite, and aboue all thatt thus godde shalbe best pleased.

And for that I will nott be longer tedious to your honnour, I will entre to the matter, moste humbly besechinge your honnour with pacience and good affection to reade and waie theise articles here followuing, wheare in I brefly sheuwe the wayes and meanes to avoyde and remedy the horte before ecksspressed, and shall deliver to her magestie a greater bennefette then I meane at this tyme to ecksspresse, and to the common people in generall geve verry greate contentement, and besydes vnto your honnour Immortall fame, thatt in your tyme and by your honnours meanes siche a benefisshall and necessary pollise hathe binne instituted with in this her magesties Realme, wiche I beseche almighty godde allwayes to presarue and mantayne and your honnour att all tyme prosper in all honnour and felissete.

2. Nouwe to enter forther in the matter, and distengktly to declare the ende of myne intencion, and concerninge therecktion of

the foresaid inuencion and meanes, wheare by with good demonstracions and conuenient inductions greate sommes of monney maye verry easely be levyed amongeste the people with theire owne good contentacion. Of the wiche sommes of monney the one thirde parte, to my simple giuggement, shalbe a sufficient masse and sarue to putt in ecksecusshon the meanes whearby the aforesaid vsery maye be cleane abolisshed, and the other 2 partes, ressyduwe of the said monney, for her magestie to vse att her ouwne wyll and pleasure. Hitt shalbe good also in my simple giuggement, and onder your honnours correction, to make theise demonstracions followinge vnto the people. And firste :—

3. The Quenes magestie maye ordayne certain of her magesties counsaill to infourme and instruckte all officers of her dominions, spirituall and temporall, as bishops, Deans, Maiors, Aldermenne, baylyfs, Constables, giustices, treasorers, and all other manner of officers, and consequently theise by degrees to enfourme and instruckte the common people, of thorders and pollecys wiche her magestie hathe ordeyned and is detarmined they shalbe put in ecksecusshon : aswell for the repayring of decaied havens and fronture places within her magesties dominions, as also for the prouisshon of munisshons and other thinges appartaining for defence in tyme of warre, thinges in theise trobbelsomme dayes thought verry necessary. Beesydes that, her magestie hathe a great desyre and good wyll to helpe and ease her subgieckts of the great dommages and eckstorcions they dayly receave by ecksessif interresses wiche they be dreven to paie to a nomber of insatiable vserers (wiche gnauweth the poore people Dayly to the verry bones) when by necessite they be dreven to seake wopon [i.e. upon] theim. And nouwe by this good ordre and meanes shall so be prouydeth for as nott only all menne shall in theire necessite knouwe houwe and wheare to go to be eased, but withowt any interest more then euery one of his fre good wyll shalbe willing to geue aswell in consyderacion of the pleasure receaved in his necessite, as also for the helpe and maintenauns of thofficers and other chardges about this worke.

4. The said counsaillers to sheuwe and declaire vnto all the abouesaid officers, and the said officers vnto the common people, houwe the Quenes magestie, of her ouwne good wyll towardes

the ayde and aduawncement of this necessary good and godly workes, is contente to be the firste to geue and contrybute frely (to inriche and increase the masse of monney to this effeckt necessary) all siche confiscations as her magestie is acostomed to geve and nouwe from hens forthe shall fall in her magesties good wyll to geve, and, moreover, to beare all manner of chardges towards therecktion and maintenaunce of this matter. And for as miche as siche confiscations seldom happen to befaull in reddy monney, butt moste mouables orre siche lyke, thearefore the Quenes magestie hathe thought good to sheuwe vnto her subgiecktes the meanes houwe euery one in his degre withowt losse or discommodite, but easely and with commodite, shall also sheuwe the affection and charrete towardes his neighbour and him self, in contributinge to this intente in manner hereafter followinge, that is to saie:

5. Thatt all manner of parsons having in farme any manner of thinge, temporall orre spirituall, as houses, laundes, orre anny manner of thinge whattsoeuer, painge nott onder xx *s.* by the yeare, shall towardes thinstitusshon of this good worke, att one tyme only and no morre, lende xij *d.* for euery xx *s.* he paiethe yearly to his Lorde, and the said xij *d.* to be paied to the treasorer orre receauer for this appointed, euery one in his diocis.

6. And for euery *li.* wiche the proprietary orre laundlord hathe orre dothe receaue of the tennaunt orre farmer, for the fine of the lease of siche his orre theire housis, launds orre other tennementes whatt soeuer, shall paie 2 *d.* att one tyme only.

7. Thatt all manner of officers of whatt soeuer degre, aswell ecklesiasticall as temporall, havinge theyre offices for tearme of lyf orre otherwyse, shall also lende towardes the erection of this worke xij *d.* of euery *li.* that the fee of the said office is yearly worthe vnto him.

8. And to thintente thatt no farmer shall have cause to complaine of anny losse sostained by lendinge anny monney towardes the erecktion of siche a good and charrytable worke, butt thatt euery of theim in tyme shalbe repaied againe, nott withstandinge the greate commoditie wiche euery manne shall hereby fynde in all his necessites, hitt hathe thearefore thought good to the

Quenes magestie (as allso her grace dothe nott doubte butt thatt her magesties officers and people wyll lyke of and allouwe) thatt all tenauntes att thende of yeares shalbe allouwed to him or his heyres siche monney as he to this intente hathe desborsed by siche as after him or his shall sucksede to him orre his heires, and so sucksessifly one after another; onles anny siche tennementes, laundes, houses, orre what soeuer happen to stande voyde the space of 6 monethes: in siche kace, the laundlorde shall repaie vnto the saide tennaunte all siche sommes of monney as heretofore for this intente he hathe desborsed.

9. Hitt hathe also thoughte good vnto the Quenes magestie thatt all manner of officers, aswell ecklesiasticall as temporall, having offices by tearme of lyf orre otherwyse, having desborsed as abouesaide, shall of siche monney be reinboursed orre paied againe by theyre successors in theyre saide office; onles the saide office happen to befaull to anny of his heyres, the wiche shalbe ecksempt to repaie anny of the desborsed monney.

Hereafter followeth certain articles, concerning thorder to be obsarued in thecksecuting the aforesaid worke for the vsery.

10. In primis, the gouernors and officers of this worke, in London orre els wheare in the Quenes magesties dominions, shalbe bownde to sarve euery parson whatt soeuer onder that dioces, and having necessite and that to theim declared, of siche somme of monney as his nede shall requyre, nott passinge the somme of 200 *li.*, nor being onder xx *s.*, withowt taking anny interest more then the parte serued shall thinke reasonable in recompence of the bennefytte he hathe receaved in his necessite. Prouyded allwayes thatt the partes borrouwing anny sommes of monney shalbe bownde to geue sufficient assuraunce to the gouernours and officers of this worke, and to the contentacion and estimacion of certain officers thatt for the estimacion and valluwinge shalbe appointed and sworne.

11. And the said gouernors and officers shalbe bownde to lende vnto the borrouwer alwayes thre partes of that his goodes orre laundes shalbe worthe, wiche he pleaggethe for assurance for

the monney he borroweth, and the said goodes and laundes so pleagged to be praysed by the abouesaide gouernors and officers, wiche shall vnto the parte geue a byll indented theare in spessefyinge the parcels pleaggehed, the monney theare wopon borrouwed, and the tyme of repayement: the said byll indentid safly to be kept, and for lacke of the said byll the pleagge to be forfaicte, onles sufficient cawse be shouwed of the lacke theareof orre good proof that the pleagged goodes arre hys.

12. Item, the gouernors and officers of this saide worke shalbe bownde to lende vnto alle menne as aforesaide wopon sufficient assurance, and euery one in his dioces, from xx *s.* opwarde vntyll the somme of 10 *li.* and nott onder norre more (onles hitt be his wyll) for the space of tenne wekes, condisshonally that euery parsonne shalbe bownde to redeme his pleagge within the said tyme of 10 wekes; and if faute theareof be made, the abouesaide officers shall have powre and autorite openly to sell the said pleagge in siche place as theare vnto shalbe apointed vnto siche as moste shall offer, and the ouerplus of the monney theareof made to be paied immediatly vnto the parte vnto whome the goodes do appartayne.

13. Item, the abouesaid officers shalbe bownde to lende vnto all parsons Inhabitinge within theire diocis fromme 10 *li.* opwarde vnto 20 *li.*, for the space of 15 wekes, as aboue.

14. Item, from 20 *li.* to 40 *li.* for the space of 20 wekes, as aboue.

15. Item, from 40 *li.* to 80 *li.* for the space of 30 wekes, as aboue.

16. Item, from 80 *li.* to 200 *li.* for the space of 12 moneths, as aboue. Thatt is to saye, that iff att anny of the preficksed tymes the pleaggis be nott redemed, thatt the officers shall and maie sell them as aboue is rehearsyd.

17. Item, the gouernors and officers aboue saide shalbe bownde to kepe theyre housis here vnto appointed open for all menne thre dayes in the weke, and no more, onles they otherwyse wyll, thatt is saye, the mondaye, weddensdaye, orre saterdaye in London, orre els in euery other place wopon siche dayes as the marketes in the placis do faull, orre by common consente shalbe thoughte

moste conuenient; and to sitt euery daye 4 oures, thatt is to saye, in the foure none from 8 of the clocke vntyll 10, and in the afternone fromme 2 of the clocke vntyll 4.

Conclusion.

18. If then thus euidently maie appeare whatt greate comodite all persons generally shall receaue in their necessite by the abouesaide ordre and institusshon, whatt officer, manne of reason orre concience, wyll refuse with all dute, zele and affection, nott only to be the firste to agre and consent to this abouesaid matter, butt also to vse all his eckstremete and force to induce the comon people to the same? And who is he amonge the commons, seinge the officers giustly and truly administringe theire office, and being by them wel perswaded to the good intente of this matter, and of the good ende hitt tendethe vnto, thatt wyll nott also followe willingly the others, in lendinge frely and with a good hartte as aforesaide? What parson wyll respeckt the smaulnes of his lone for only one tyme, for to be frustrated of helpe when by necessite he wheare constrained to seke hitt, besydes that he standethe in sure possybillete in tyme to recouer his principall and firste desborsed monney? Who wyll nott consether the intollerable borthen and charge wiche heretofore hathe binne borne by sondry when by necessite they have binne dreven to seke and crepe to their otter ondoing the onsaciable and gredy vserers, wiche thought neuer anny interest sufficient to satisfye theyre gredy appetyd? Who wyll more (this ones putt in ecksecusshon) paie to theim anny more siche ecksessif interest in tyme to come? Hitt is certain no one manne. More over, who is he of anny giuggement thatt wyll nott regioyce in consethering houwe the noble trafficque of marchaundyse shall florisshe and retourne in his vigor, when this horrible vsery shalbe abolisshed, whearby the common people shall receaue great ease and comodite, and the said trafficque his fre course? Hitt is certain thatt no parson kann otherwyse giugge orre saie, butt that this inuencion was by the holly goste inspyred in the Quenes magesties moste noble harrette, and to be as nessessary to be mantained among the common people, for the common

wealth of this Realme, as any other nessessary fode; so thatt, all this being wel consethered, shalbe fownde that a multytude of vserers nouwe rayguyng among the poore people, onfyt for anny common wealth and only for theim selfs, shalbe with gods healpe, and by meanes of this good institusshon, cleane from hens forwarde eckstinguisshed, and frustrated fromme theyre damnable practyses and games, to the greate conforte and ease in generall of all the people, to the immortall honnour and glory of her Magestie and her honnorable counsaill, who in her Magesties tyme hathe ereckted siche an honeste, godlye and polletyque worke in her Magesties Realme, wiche the Lorde long prosper and mantayne.

[*Endorsed.*] Stephan Parrottes devices.

7. MILES MOSSE'S "ARRAIGNMENT AND CONVICTION OF VSURIE," 1595.

[The Arraignment and Conviction of Vsurie: That is the iniquitie and vnlawfulnes of vsurie, displayed in sixe Sermons, preached at Saint Edmunds Burie in Suffolke, vpon Prouerb 28.8. by Miles Mosse, (London, 1595), *passim.*]

The Text. Prouerb 28.8.

He that increaseth his riches by vsurie and interest, gathereth them for him that will be mercifull to the poore.

. . . . . .

But now, how and by what meanes God conuerteth the vsurers wealth to the relieuing of the needie, that is the doubte and question which ariseth to bee resolued in this place. One of the Rabbins referreth it *ad magistratum et fiscum*, to the confiscation of the vsurers goods vnto the Magistrate: for thereunto wee see that the riches and wealth of great men are many times deuolved. God often suffereth men which by euill meanes haue gathered their riches to fall into the danger of politique penall lawes and so to forfeite their goods to the crowne: whereof it commeth (or it may come) to passe, that of those goods so gathered and so forfeited by iniquitie, the poore may be relieued, high waies may bee repaired, publique charges may bee defrayed, the burden of the Church and of the commonweale may be eased

How the vsurer gathereth for the poore.

to the people. And so, *He that increaseth his riches by vsurie and interest gathereth them for him that will be mercifull to the poore.* Others referre this vnto the gouernement and sentence of the Magistrate; as if Salomon would speake to this effect and purpose: An vsurer shall by his riches euill gathered together thus helpe and relieue the poore. The good and godlie magistrate, seeing him by so euile and vngodlie meanes rake wealth together into his hands, will enact such lawes, and take such order as shall defeate him of his wealth, and will more profitablie and more righteouslie imploye it: namely (among other particulars) to the relieuing of the poore. Others referre this speech vnto the vsurers heyre, or to him to whom the vsurer leaueth and bequeath his goods. Hee shall leaue them to a liberall man that will bee mercifull vnto the poore. Now though I condemne not this sence, yet I doe not so much approue it, partly because an vsurer will hardly be induced to bequeath his goods to him who hee feareth will mercifullie and liberallie imploy them: and partlie because that though the father that putteth to vsurie may sometimes haue a kinde and a mercifull sonne, as appeareth by the Prophet: yet to beholde this is almost as rare a thing as it is to see a blacke Swan floating on the waters. For commonly such egge such chickin, such syer such childe: the father an vsurer, the sonne vnmercifull. And therefore I rather follow those who, not descending into any particular meanes (because they are infinite in the hand of God), doe generally applie this sentence vnto his holy prouidence. As if hee had saide: God, hating the vsurer and condemning his course, doth one way or other defeate him and his of their hope and expectation, and the goods which he gathereth by oppressing of the poore, those hee conueyeth to another which of a mercifull minde will be liberall to the poore.

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How Vsurie and Interest doe differ.

Note by the way for the better discouerie of the vsurers euill dealing, that howsoever hee, to glose with the world, is wont to confound the names of Interest and vsurie—and men are woont to say, that they take Interest, and lend upon Interest, when indeed they take vsurie and lend upon vsurie—yet that there are two manifest and essentiall differences between vsurie and Interest,

which doe so distinguish the one from the other, as that they cannot possibly be confounded. One difference is this: Usurie is an ouerplus or gaine taken more than was lent; Interest is neuer gaine or ouerplus aboue the principall, but a recompence demaunded and due for the damage that is taken, or the gaine that is hindered through lending. An other difference is this: vsurie accreweth and groweth due by lending, from the day of borrowing, vnto the appointed time of payment; Interest is neuer due but from the appointed day of payment forward, and for so long as I forbeare my goods after the day in which I did covenant to receive them againe. So that, if once I haue lent freely vnto a certaine day, I shall not demaund Interest for any dammage susteined, or gaine hindered, during that tearme of time for which I haue lent vnto another. But if at the couenanted time I receiue not mine owne againe, then what harme soeuer do betide me after that day for the forbearing thereof, reason will that it be recompenced of the borrower. And so much of Interest, and of the difference betweene it and vsurie.

. . . . . .

The vsurer neuer aduentureth or hazardeth the losse of his principall: for he wil haue all sufficient securitie for the repaiment and restoring of it backe againe to himselfe. . . .

The vsurer pretendeth aduenturing.

But I am not ignorant what the vsurer will replie in this behalfe. Why sir (will hee say), whensoeuer, or howsoeuer, or to whomsoeuer I lende, it is euident that I hazard and aduenture my goods. For, say that I take the borrowers bonde or bill, or pawne, or suerties, or promise, for mine own securitie: yet it may come to passe, that hee and his suerties may proue banckroute, his and their goods may by some offence bee confiscated and forfeited to the crowne, hee or they may flee the countrie, or keepe the house, that they are not to be gotten; nay euidences may be stolne, lost, brent, caught out of my hand by cousenage, etc.; a thousand waies are there by which, notwithstanding mine assurance, I may be defeated of mine owne. And therfore it is euident that I aduenture my goods. Now to this obiection of theirs, I answer two manner of waies. First I say, that in this sorte and this respect, euery man aduentureth his goods, euen hee that hath sufficient pawne in hand, yea euen he that

keepeth his money fast lockt in his cofers: for they may be burnt, or stollen, or by cousenage conueyed away. All the goods of this life are of this nature: *The rust and moth may corrupt them, theeues may breake through and steale them away.* And yet I trowe no man will say that hee doth aduenture his money, who taketh for it sufficient pawne in hand, or who keepeth it by himselfe vnder locke and key in his owne closet. I put an example to make the cause plaine. Wee haue in England two sortes of Marchants, Marchant Aduenturers, and Marchant Retaylers. The Retayler cannot but hazard much, for he must trust often, sometimes for round summes, sometimes for a great while, sometimes upon the borrowers bare worde or hand to his booke (which assurance no vsurer will take), and yet no man calleth him a Merchant Aduenturer, neither is hee assumed into their hall and companie. How much lesse then can an vsurer bee called an aduenturer of his goods, when hee will neither trust, nor lend for long time, nor but vpon all sufficient securitie. Secondly, to the plea of the vsurer touching the aduenturing of his goods, I answer in this sorte. There is aduenturing in a double respect, 1. First, *Quoad euentum*, 2. Secondly, *Quoad media.* A man may aduenture as touching the issue: and as touching the meanes. As touching the issue, it is confessed that the vsurer aduentureth: and no gramercie, for hee cannot possiblie doe otherwise, because no man can see the ende of a thing when hee beginneth it, and because the ouerruling prouidence of God will worke when it pleaseth, sometimes beyond meanes, sometimes without meanes, sometimes contrarie to meanes: therefore is it, that no man can say assuredly what the issue of any thing will proue. But as touching the meanes, the vsurer worketh so sure, as hee cannot in any reason be saide to aduenture.

A double kinde of adventuring.

The vsurer aduentureth not.

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Now because that *Euery man that doth euill hateth the light,* and vsurie is a note *miseri, deiecti et inertis animi,* Of a miserable, base and abiect minde: therefore some, to couer their sinne, and to vpholde their credite, haue deuised faire cloakes to shroude their ragged garments, and haue begotten a more cunning and subtile kinde of trafficke in the world. . . . All

The cloakes of vsurie are infinite.

which cloakes and subtilties, if I would goe about to discouer, I should attempt to treade an endles maze. . . . Like are common vsurers vnto the monster Hydra: for they haue many heades, that is, infinite deuises. . . .

. . . I doe thus define this same *Palliatam vsuram*, This cloaked kind of vsurie: Couert vsurie is lending for gaine, vnder the colour of some lawfull contracte. . . .

Cloaked vsurie is described.

For first, in buying and selling men play the vsurers many wayes. As for example: A man buyeth corne yet in the fielde (it may bee in the blade), for fiue shillinges a coombe: and it is likely that in haruest it will be worth twelue or thirteene shillings a coombe: *Tunc vsuram facit*, Then that man committeth vsurie. Of which very kinde almost are a great number of maulsters, and others among us, which doe buy barley afore hande for foure shillinges a combe, and at the time of their deliuerie it is worth sixe shillinges, or a noble: and so for forbearing their money, and laying it out aforehand, they gaine sixe shillinges in twelve, tenne shillings in the pound: farre aboue the rate that the lawe admitteth in vsurie. And no doubt, vnlesse . . . at the time of their buying they are vncertaine whether the price of corne will rise or fall, before the time of deliuery, it seemeth a thing apparant to mee that such men come within the compasse of cloaked vsurie. Againe, I sell wares, I give three moneths day of payment, and for that I am to forbeare my money so long, I sell aboue mine ordinarie price, and aboue a reasonable gaine: herein (no question) I commit vsurie. For I sell the time, and make gaine of lending. A note very necessarie to bee obserued of shoppe keepers, and occupiers: that they learne not to disgrace their honest trades of marchandise, by putting vpon them the dishonest cloake of vsurie. Againe, a man commeth to me to borrow money: I answere I will lend him no money to vsury. But if he will buy a horse or a gelding for ten pound (which is scarse worth ten shillings), I wil lend him so much money, til such a time. So the price which he payeth for the horse, more then he is worth, shall fully recompence the loane, and vsurie of the money. Such an vsurer my selfe once knew in the world (if happily his owne sonne doth reporte the truth of his father), who was supposed to haue many hundreds

Vsurie is often committed in buying and selling.

out to vsurie at once. All his olde hoosen, and dublettes, and coates, when they were past his owne wearing, proued vnto him the richest part of his wardrobe. For a man could not borrow a hundred pounde, but he must buy of him an old frise coate, or a cast doublet, or some such like princely robe: and the price of it was not commonly lesse then twentie markes, or ten poundes, answerable to the loane of the money which he lent forth. Againe, I sell a commoditie for the price which the market now goeth at, with this condition, that if it bee more worth at the Easter or Whitsontide following, I will haue more for it, but if it proue lesse worth, I wil not haue my former price abated. . . . Againe, I come to a man, and desire him to lend mee an hundred pounde vpon vsurie. Hee answereth, he hath not so much readie money by him, but to doe mee a pleasure hee will lend mee a hundred poundes worth of plate to sell, and so to make money: the plate perhaps being hardly worth the money. I am no sooner gone out of the dore, but the vsurer prouideth a broaker to meete me, and to buy his plate of me againe. Nowe for readie money perhaps I sell the plate for foure score pound. The broaker carieth back the plate to the owner, and from him bringeth foure score pounde in readie money to the borrower. The borrower must pay the lender an hundred pounde for his plate at the day appointed, and ten pounde for the vsurie in the meane season. So in fine, the poore man payeth loane after thirtie pound in the hundred, and yet must thinke himselfe befriended of the marchant. Thus and a thousand wayes more is vsurie committed vnder pretence and colour of buying and selling.

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Vsurie cloaked vnder pretence of letting.

Vsurie is likewise cloaked and commeth many times disguised in the forme and habite of letting. As thus: I buy a Bullocke or a Cow of him that hath none to sell. And knowing that he hath none, I say to him, comming to borrow money: I doe here deliuer you so much money for such a beast. But now I will let you that beast for such a time, at this or that price. In this case (sayth Bromyard) *Vt Deum decipiant pecuniam animal vocant:* That they may deceiue God, they terme their money by the name of a liuing creature: and they take loane for lend-

ing of money, vnder pretence of letting a beast. Againe, one commeth to mee to borrowe money: I answere I will lende him no money, but cattell if hee please. Hee replyeth that hee hath no neede of cattell, but he must vse readie money. Why then (say I) take thus much money of me, buy with it thus many milch kine. At the yeres ende, yee shall giue mee thus much money for the hire of euery Cow, and ye shall therewith restore to me the kine themselues, in that forme in which I deliuer them onto you: that is (to deale plainely) in so much readie money. Here seemeth to be hiring of kine in the borrower, and letting of kine in the lender, and yet at the yeeres ende all prooueth but thus much loane for the forbearing of so much money: and so it is vsurie vnder pretence of letting. Againe, one commeth to me to borrow a hundred pound for seuen yeeres. I answere that he shall haue it with this condition: hee shall hyre of mee a house and certaine land, at such a yerely rent, and hee shall take a lease of them for the space of seuen yeeres. The house and land perhaps are hardly worth ten pound a yeere, yet I couenant to receiue twentie pound a yere rent. So it commeth to passe that the rent of the lease payeth the loane of the money, euen tenne pound for the hundred, and vsurie is committed vnder pretence of letting. Or thus againe. A man commeth to mee to borrowe twentie pound. I answer, I cannot forbeare so much to lend him: but I haue twentie pound in olde golde, or faire golde, which I am loth to forgoe, or to haue it changed: and to doe him a pleasure I will lend him that, to lay to pawne to another, and to borrowe so much money vpon. But withall, for my kindnes he shall giue mee twentie shillings for hauing my money to lay to pawne to another. . . . This . . . is letting, or vsurie, taken vnder pretence of letting.

Vsurie vnder pretence of free lending.

As it is with letting, so it is also with lending: for vsurie is many times committed vnder pretence of free lending. As for example: An occupier or shopkeeper will take all kind of gold that is brought vnto him for payment: as clipt Angels, light french Crownes, souldred Soueraignes, and such like. Prouided alwaies that he will not take them for payment, vnlesse he haue recompence according to the want: for one sixe pence, for

another a groate, for an an [*sic*] other twelue pence allowance, or more or lesse. Now this light gold, or souldred gold, or clipt gold, will hee keepe by him, and will lend it out freely to any man that desireth to borrow. All the recompence that he requireth is no more then that which he lendeth out, viz., ten pounde for ten pound, twentie pound for twentie pound, that is (as it seemeth), onely his owne againe. But when the day of payment commeth, where hee lent Angels that wanted sixe graines, and french crownes scarce worth fiue shillinges: hee will bee paide againe with good, lawfull and currant english money. . . . Againe, I come to an vsurer to borrow ten pound for a yeare. He answereth, hee cannot so long forbeare his money: but to doe mee a pleasure he will lend me so much for a moneth. And he will lend it for so long *Gratis*, Freely. . . . All that he will require is a bande for the repayment of his owne againe. But hee knoweth well enough that it is an hundred to one that he which commeth to borrow tenne pound for a yeare shall not bee like nor able to pay it againe within a moneth. Well yet this hee offereth freely, and the borrower being pent is glad to accept of any thing. Hee taketh the money, he entereth a band, the moneth is soone expired. Hee cannot prouide the money so speedily, for want of returne, and therefore the band is forfeited. Then will the vsurer pay himselfe his loane with the forfeiture of the band, it may be thrise as much as the loane is worth: and yet make the poore borrower beleeue that hee doth much befriend him, in not taking the whole forfeiture, considering that he brake day with him, who lent his money out of his purse freely, and without any consideration. Thus the poore man payeth thoroughly for his borrowing, and the vsurer is thorowly satisfied for his lending.

Vsurie vnder shewe of exchange.

From lending let vs passe on to exchanging: and we shall see that many times vnder shew of exchange men commit vsurie. As for the purpose, I lend the value of a thousand florentines in siluer, and I couenant to receiue for them a thousand florentines in gold . . . which are more worth then they go for in siluer. . . . Again, put the case that Angels go currant for an eleuen shillings in France, which are worth but ten shillings in England. I will lend a man a hundred Angels

in England, vpon condition that he shall repay an hundred angels to my factour in France. In the one example there is but an exchange of coyne in an other kinde, in the other onely a commutation of place: yet in both, the lender taketh manifest increase for the forbearing of his money, and so committeth vsurie.

Vsurie in pawning.

The last which I will adde shalbe laying to pawne. . . . Now vnder pretence of laying to pawne, vsurie is commonly and too commonly committed. As in this example. I lend twentie pound for a yeare, and for assurance of mine owne I take a pawne worth fortie markes: with a bill of sale, that if hee fayle payment at the day appointed, his goods shall be mine. I know that at his time he is nothing like to pay it, and at his day he doth not pay it: for his default I seaze vpon his pawne, and take it to mine owne vse. So I gaine twentie nobles for the lending of twentie pound, which is apparant to be extreeme and notorious vsurie.

Vsurie full of diuers shifts.

No man must expect that I deliuer all the misteries of this secret knowledge. Had I an hundred tounges, or a marble memorie, or an indefatigable industry, I could no more vtter, or record, or finde out, the innumerable deuices which vsurers haue to oppresse the poore, then he in the Poet could vtter the punishments of hell wherewith the wicked were tormented of the Furies.

. . . . . .

He that lendeth expecting gaine is an vsurer.

Not only hee who in lending couenanteth for gaine, or whose vsurarious practises may be discouered of men, is such an vsurer as is condemned by the word of God: but euen hee which lendeth without any couenant at all, and doth onely *expect* an increase, or *hope* for gaine at the hand of the borower, he is iudged of men and condemned of God as a committer of vsurie. And therefore, if I lend without couenanting for gaine, but yet *hoping* that he to whom I lend wil in regard therof speake a good word for me, helpe me to a good mariage, procure me a gainfull office, or such like: this *expectation* and *intendment* maketh me to become an vsurer. Againe, if I lend and demaunde nothing, but yet I *hope* well that at the appointed day the borower will not for shame send home my money

without recompence, herein I am an vsurer: not an Open and Actuall, but an Inward and Mental vsurer. . . . Note by the way (least any man mistake this doctrine) that all hope and expectation in lending is not to be cut off, nor denied to the lender. . . . One sayd not amisse, *potest mutuans sperare tria:* hee that lendeth may hope or expect three things of the borower . . . first, that the borower do repay the aequall measure or value of that which he lent him: secondly, he may expect that he may haue his action in law against the borower, if his owne be not repayed: thirdly, hee may expect that the partie whom he now releeueth by lending will yeelde him againe personall reliefe in the time of his necessitie. Vnto which three I may also adde the fourth particular, and that is, the lender may lawfully expect the loue and good will of the borower. For that hath he iustly deserued by his kindnesse: and besides loue is not a thing which can be valued for money: and therefore hee that expecteth loue cannot bee sayd to expect gaine from lending. Prouided alwaies, that the lender doe not so expect the loue of the borrower, as that in the seeking thereof he hath too farre a reach, and casteth his eyes vpon some gaine or commoditie, whereunto by the good wil of him that borroweth he hopeth to be preferred. . . .

The vsurer may expect diuerse things.

The lender may expect loue: and no further.

8. MALYNES ON THE EXCHANGES, 1601.

[A treatise of the Canker of England's Common wealth. Deuided into three parts: Wherein the Author, imitating the rule of good Phisitions, First, declareth the disease; Secondarily, sheweth the efficient cause thereof; Lastly, a remedy for the same. By Gerrard De Malynes, Merchant, 1601, *passim.*]

The First Part, concerning the Disease of the English Commonwealth.

. . . As a commonwealth is nothing else but a great houshold or family . . . the Prince (being as it were the father of the family) ought to keep a certaine equality in the trade or trafficke betwixt his realme and other countries, not suffering an ouerbalancing of forreine commodities with his home commodities,

or in buying more then he selleth. For thereby his treasure and the wealth of the realme doth decrease, and as it were his expences become greater, or do surmount his incomes or revenues. This is the unknowne disease of the politicke body of our weale publicke . . ., the efficient cause whereof must be found out, before any remedy can be applied or deuised. . . .

Hereuppon let vs note, that properly the wealth of the realme cannot decrease but three manner of wayes, which is by the transportation of ready money or bullion out of the same; by selling our home commodities too good cheape; or by buying the forreine commodities too deare, wherin chiefly consisteth the aforesayd ouerballancing, which is the cause of inequality, we giuing in effect both money and commodities to haue forreine commodities for them.

[Discusses the distinction between natural and artificial riches and the use of money as a measure of value.]

Omitting now to speake of the finenesse, weight and proportion of the mony of other countries, let vs consider the property of the money, or the effects thereof; which is, that plentie of money maketh generally things deare, and scarcitie of money maketh likewise generally things good cheape. Whereas things particularly are also deare or good cheape according to plentie or scarcitie of the things themselues, or the vse of them.

According to the plentie or scarcitie of the monie then, generally things became dearer or good cheape, whereunto the great store or abundance of monie and bullion, which of late years is come from the west Indies into Christendom, hath made euery thing dearer according to the increase of monie, which . . . hath caused a great alteration and inhauncing of the price of euery thing, and most especially because the monie it selfe was altered in valuation in some countries; so that the measure being altered and made lesser, there went more number to make vp the tale, and of necessitie other things went accordingly. For monie must alwaies remaine to be the rule, and therefore is called *Publica mensura.*

Some, perceiuing the forraine commodities of late yeares to be more risen in price then our home commodities, did attribute the same to the vnder valuation of our monie in regard of the

monies of other countries, and wold haue had our monies inhaunced, wherein they were so farre from the marke, that if our coines were inhaunced, all the forraine commodities and our home commodities would be inhaunced in price accordingly: and the forraine commodities most of all by the course of things as they are now vsed. The like would happen if the monie were embased by allay, as we haue seene by the sequele of things yet fresh in memorie, during the most victorious raigne of king *Henry* the 8. Yet hereby we may perceiue that, in substance of the matter, they seemed to ayme at the maine point of this ouerballancing or inequalitie; and that the Prouerbe is true: That the vnknowne disease putteth out the Phisitions eye. This ouerballancing consisteth properly in the price of commodities, and not in the quantitie or qualitie; and to counteruaile the same, our treasure must of necessitie be exhausted and spent, to the great impouerishing of the Realme, and the transportation of our monies. Whereby it commeth to passe that we find the contrary of our former obseruation; for as in countries where scarcitie of monie is, things are good cheape: so on the contrarie, in countries where things are deare (as the forraine commodities are with vs) mony should be plentifull; which plentie we must consider, not in comparison of a lesser quantity which was in times past, but according to the present abundance now found in all countries; which doe duely participate by the course of trafique a competent share of the whole, farre otherwise then we doe.

Neither was monie more plentie heretofore, when an ounce of siluer was worth but 20 pence, iudging of mony as we do of commodities, either deare or good cheape according to the price. Whereas money must be still the measure, and is valued by publike authoritie at a certaintie: whereby it doth not onely giue or set a price vnto all other mettals: but receiued (as it were) by repercussion a price in it selfe, and ruled at all times the course of commodities. For albeit that plenteousnesse or scarcitie of commodities in particular doth alter the price of commodities, yet with monie it is otherwise, notwithstanding the course of vsury or exchange deuised thereupon, whose operation falleth in the effect vppon the commodities. And the

valuation or alteration of money concerneth only the soueraignty and dignity of the Prince or gouernour of euery countrey, as a thing peculiar vnto them.

To auoide the cariage of money, a certaine exchange was deuised, grounded vpon the weight, finenesse and valuation of the money of each countrey, according to value for value . . . which therefore was called *Par*. This course of exchange being abused, and of late years become as it were a trade in rising and falling in price, according to plentie or scarcitie of monie, and in regard of discrepance and distance of time and place, is become predominant or doth ouer-rule the course of commodities and money, and is the very efficient cause of this ouerballancing of commodities before spoken of, and consequently of the decrease of our wealth and exportation of our monies; . . . which efficient cause being taken away by the remedie hereafter declared, will make the effects to cease, and these generall benefits will ensue.

Losses of at the least fiue hundreth thousand pounds, which the Realme sustaineth yearely, shall be auoided.

Transportation of ready mony shal be preuented.

The commodities of the Realme shall be aduanced in sale and price.

The forraine commodities shall be brought into the Realme better cheap.

The Queenes Customes shal much increase yearely.

Money will be imported againe vnto vs in ample manner.

The Queene shal haue a great gain by the Mint, and not onely poore monyers, but also all other artificers and workemen shal be set on worke, to avoide idlenesse, which is the root of all mischief; when, through plenty of money and gaines, merchants shall be encouraged to seeke out new trades, whereby the Realme wil more flourish through Gods blessings.

The Second Part: of the Efficient Cause of the disease of the body Politicke of Englands commonweale.

We haue alreadie said, the abuse of the exchange for money to be the very efficient cause of this disease. . . .

First it behooveth vs to speak somewhat of the commaunders or rulers of this exchaunge through all Christendom, which in effect are the Bankers; and therefore shal we declare what the nature of a Banke is from whence the name Banker is derived.

[Describes the functions of a bank and the methods by which money is paid out on demand by depositors.]

The money then remaining in the bankers hands is employed by them to other vses and purposes.

First, they do deale with great Princes and Potentates, that haue neede of money for the maintenance of the wars, as the *Geneuoises* and *Germaines* did with the Emperour Charles the fift during the warres in *Germany*, taking an exceeding gaine for it. And as of late yeares the *Florentines* and others haue done with *Philip* the second, king of *Spaine*, during his warres with *Fraunce* and the Low-countries, causing him to engage the reuenues of his dominions and territories, and of the customes, and notwithstanding to pay them exchange, rechange and interest of 25, 30, yea 50 vpon the hundreth, deuouring a great part of his *Indian* treasure, as might at large be declared.

Secondarily they do ingrosse the commodities and marchandises of their owne countrey, and of other countries many times also; so that none can bee had but at the second hand, and at such prices as they thinke fit to sell them; and that to *Englands* great preiudice, as shall be declared.

Thirdly, whereas it is a maxime in matters of exchange, that plentie of money beyond the seas maketh the price of the exchange to rise, and scarcitie of money likewise beyond the seas maketh the price to fall: and so on the contrary with vs here in England, plenty of money maketh the price to fall, and scarcity of money maketh the price to rise; and that for places for the which the head of the exchange resteth with vs, and on the contrary for places where the head resteth with other nations; hereupon I say it is an easie matter for these bankers with the money to rule the same at their pleasure, from place to place, causing (as it were) ebbings and flowings, as shall be declared.

For the better vnderstanding hereof we must note that the head of the exchange is taken to bee at such a place or places

where the price doth not alter. As for example: we haue the head of the exchanges for *Hamborow*, *Middleborough*, *Embden*, *Amsterdam*, and other places, for the which we do exchange for our pound or twenty shillings sterling, as well beyond the seas as here in *England*, the mutability of the price being with them of beyond the seas in giuing or taking still more or lesse of their money from time to time for our pound sterling.

And on the contrarie, for as much that the price of exchange for *Roan*, *Paris* and other places in *Fraunce*, and for *Venice* and other places in Italy or elsewhere, doth from time to time alter with vs according to their Crowne or Ducat, therefore doth the head of those exchanges rest with them. And so by a common vse, according to the alteration of the price, we say the exchange is high or lowe.

High, when there is more mony giuen of the moneis of other countries for our mony then the right exchange is of value for value, which is called *Par*, as before is mentioned; and that according to the discrepance of time, for places whereof we haue the head of the exchange.

Low, when there is lesse money giuen for our money then the right exchange of value for value, according to the discrepance of time (which is reckened according vnto interest after ten vpon the hundreth); and that also for the places whereof the head of the exchange resteth with vs.

And for places whereof we haue not the head of the exchange, it is directly the contrary; as when we do giue more or lesse for their crowne or ducat then the same is worth in substance, as before, according also to the discrepance of time. But as in all traffickes the generall doth alwayes gouerne the particular, so the trade of cloth and kersies doth with vs command the course of all the other trades for *Fraunce* and other places. And the places where this trade is vsed are in the course of the exchange to be ruled by vs, who haue the head thereof, which may commaund and direct all the other parts and members of the body, as hereafter shall be declared.

The bankers, hauing the generall course of exchanges, do therefore also command our particular exchanges of *England*. They deliuer at *Middleborough* 165 pound Flemish, for to haue

at *London* 100 pounds sterling, which is 33 shillings of their money for our pound sterling of 20 shillings payable at vsance, which is one moneth. The hundreth pounds being here receiued is made ouer againe at 35 shillings, 6 pence, or 36 shillings Flemish the pound, payable also at vsance, and then there is receiued at *Middleborough* againe 177 pounds 10 shillings, or 180 pounds Flemish. Here is now differing 3 shillings Flemish in 33 shillings, which is aboue 9 vpon the hundreth for 2 monethes, and aboue 50 vppon the hundreth by the yeare; and in the like manner for *Hamborough*, *Embden* and other places; and many times more, if vpon some occasion monies are made ouer, or taken vp, either for the payments of soldiers or other employments, especially if the exchange returne not to the place from whence it came, as from *London* to *Hamborough*, when it came first from *Midleborough*, and so for *Roan*, *Venice*, *Lyons* and other places, according as it is deliuered out payable at sight, vsance or double vsance. And taking occasion vpon discrepances and distances of time and place, they make through plenty or scarcitie of money the same dearer or cheaper as it pleased them.

If the exchange with vs here be low, so that more will bee giuen for our money being caried in *specie*, then by bill of exchange can be had, then our money is transported; whereas otherwise no man would aduenture the money, and stand in danger of the law to loose treble the value, if by a simple bill of exchange he might haue as much payde him beyond the seas; for in truth gaine is the cause of exportation of our monies, which gaine doth not consist in the substance of the money; for as the right exchange is grounded vpon the weight and finenesse of our money, and the weight and finenesse of the money of each other countrey, and thereupon the valuation of the money maketh the price of exchange, it followeth that neither difference of weight, finenesse of standard, or valuation of monies can be any true cause of transportation of our money, so long as a due course is holden in the exchange. But this due course being abused, causeth (as before) our monies to be transported and maketh scarcitie thereof, which abateth the price of our home commodities, and on the contrary aduanceth the price of the forreine

commodities beyond the seas, where our mony concurring with the monies of other countries causeth plenty, whereby the price of forrein commodities is aduanced; and so might it fare with the price of our home commodities, being transported to those places, were we not hindred by the tolleration of their monies to go currant far aboue their value with them, and to the greater transportation of ours, and hinderance of importation of any vnto vs. . . .

And albeit that the transportation of mony is prohibited very straitly, yet there is alwayes 3 wayes of exportation: namely by commodities, mony and exchange. But there is but two wayes of importation, namely, commodities and exchange, whereby commeth a notable ouerballancing of forrein commodities with our home commodities. . . .

When the exchaunge goeth high, our merchants are inclined to buy forraine commodities, or to barter their commodities for the same, which opportunitie is not onely obserued by the Bankers, but also procured. To which end they follow, by the meanes of their factors, our merchants at all places, euen as the Eagle followeth her pray, be it at *Stoade*, *Hamborough*, *Embden*, *Middelborough*, or elsewhere; where they will haue an especiall care to be furnished with the commodities wherin they deale, as Veluets, Satine, Silkes, Fustians, Venice gold, or such like, and that against the arriual of any quantitie of cloth and kerseis out of England. For albeit that they do not buy the greatest quantity of our English commodities, yet they know that when our merchants haue made sale of their commodities payable at some short time and receiued bils for the same, and that the buyers of cloathes do pay the old debts and make new debts againe, then the exchange riseth, wherby our merchants, rather then to make ouer monies by exchange at a high rate (the rising whereof they will also increase by plentie of money deliuered by them), will make their returne both for the money and billes of debts in forraine commodities, the price whereof is rated by them at their owne pleasure. So that our merchants, buying deare, must sell deare, which bringeth a wonderfull ouerballancing, and causeth vs to feede vpon our natiue soile, giuing the benefite thereof vnto other Nations. Whereas we

should liue by the gaines of our home commodities being sold vnto other nations. And now we are driuen to seeke a gain vpon forraine commodities, to the great preiudice of our owne countrey; and that is also a cause that many of our merchants, perceiuing a small gaine and sometimes none at all to be had vpon our home commodities, do buy and seek their gaines vpon forraine commodities, making ouer money from hence at a high exchange for that purpose, or causing at a high exchange beyond the seas money to be taken vp; wherein although they may be gainers, yet the Realme generally beareth the losse, and they feede still vpon their mothers belly; wherein they are the more instigated through the immoderate vse of forraine commodities. Albeit that we do not find so great an inconuenience in the wearing of the forraine commodities as we do in the price of them, being within this fiftie yeares risen farre otherwise then our home commodities are, the money still being with vs the selfe same. And herein consisteth the ouerballancing aforesaid; for if the forrain commodities, which are consumed and brought as it were vnto doung, shall amount in value or cost more then the commodities or fruite of the lande, certes that lande is vnprofitable in euery mans iudgment, much more if we do consider that the people of other countries doe very much enrich themselues by their industrie and handiwork vpon the stuffe of other countries. And it were to be wished that our cloth were sold at so deare a rate, and according to the price of forraine commodities, that thereby other nations would take vpon them to make our clothes themselues; which might easily be remedied, by selling our woolles the dearer whereof they must make them.

So that in conclusion, our home commodities are abated by the abuse of the exchange foure maner of wayes:

1. By scarcitie of monie (which maketh things good cheap) caused by the exchange.

2. By the gaine sought vpon mony which otherwise would be sought vpon the commodities.

3. By a high exchange with vs, which causeth men to deliuer that mony by exchange in nature of trade, which otherwise by some might be employed vpon the commodities; likewise by a low exchange, which causeth exportation of our monie.

4. By the rash sale of our commodities by young merchants and others that are driuen to pay money taken vp by exchange here in England, thereby spoiling the market of others.

Forraine commodities on the contrarie are aduanced 4 manner of waies:

1. Through plenty of mony in other countries, which maketh generally things deare; which plenty is increased by our owne monies transported to our owne hurt euery way.

2. By a high exchange beyond the seas, whereby men are inclined to buy forraine commodities, and by a low exchange, when there are no takers vp of monie; and herin our excessiue vse of the said commodities doth encourage them.

3. By the tolleration of monies beyond the seas to go currant far aboue their value; for by the alteration of the valuation of mony the price of commodities doth alter also; and this tolleration being a hinderance for the importation of mony causeth the greater quantitie of forraine commodities to be bought and brought ouer at a dearer rate.

4. For that the principall commodities of silks, veluets, fustians, and such like, are engrossed by the Bankers, that sell them at their pleasure, our immoderate vse giuing them the greater cause.

Hereby cometh an ouerbalancing of forraine commodities with our home commodities, which to supply or counteruaile draweth away our treasure and readie money, to the great losse of the commonweale; for let vs suppose with the least of 10 in the 100 losse vpon al our commodities going out, and the forraine commodities comming into the Realme, and we shall find it to be aboue 500,000 pounds euery yeare. So that in sum we do giue daily both treasure and our home commodities to haue forraine commodities at a deare rate. Thus we may consider how these Bankers and euery one of vs do vse, or rather abuse, the exchange, and make of it a trade for monies, and therefore may aptly be called a merchandizing exchange: whereas otherwise the right vse of exchange is very needful and conuenient for the maintenance and traffick of entercourse. . . . But the merchandizing exchange which thus ouer-ruleth the course of commodities and mony is intollerable; for we shall

find in effect that one summe of mony, of one sort and kind of coin, hath two prices and two valuations, at one time, exchanged for one distance of time, differing only by the diuersitie of place and countrie; whereby priuate men alter as it were the valuation of coines, which is rated and valued in al countries by the Prince . . . and so consequently of too high presumption for subiects to step into. And it is also against reason to change the course of nature in the coin, as though a pound weight should be more weighty then a pound, or a pound tale more then a pound tale. . . .

. . . This canker of marchandising exchange is like to the cruelty of the *Planet Saturne*, which maketh his sphericall course in thirty yeares with great operation, although we do not so sensibly perceiue his motion.

This may be illustrated by a similitude, for concerning the sale of our commodities we do . . . like a grocer that selleth out his pepper by the pound, at a price agreed vpon, and is contented that the buyer shal weigh it out by a weight which (unknowne vnto him) is false, and so looseth vnawares, or getteth lesse then he made account of, because the fraud vsed in the weight and measure is vnknowne vnto him. Euen so is the cunning course of the exchange vnknowne vnto vs.

[Discusses England's trade with Poland and adjacent countries, Russia, Turkey, Barbary, Spain and Portugal.]

The summe of all is concerning all the aforesaid countries where we haue no ordinarie exchanges, that neither the exportation of our monies is preiudicall to the realme, if we bring for it againe needful and necessary commodities into the same; neither is the importation of money beneficiall to the realme to any great purpose, if we do giue our good and necessarie commodities for the same, being both wayes but a kind of permutation or barter; and those countries that by inhancing the coyne do draw money vnto them gather but an imaginatiue wealth, consisting in the denomination and not in substance, whereas the abuse of the exchange causeth vs, for such places where it is vsuall and ordinary, to loose and give our treasure with our home commodities, to obtaine only forrein commodities for it. . . .

Omitting many other particular matters, let vs conclude with

the second part of our treatise. . . . [The reforming of the exchange] will be the only way of preseruation and augmentation of the wealth of the realme . . . by bringing plenty of money within the realme, and staying that which will further passe whereby our home commodities will be aduanced in price, which will increase the quantitie of them, and set not onely more people on worke to make our home commodities, but also other commodities now imported, hauing within the realme fit matter or stuffe thereunto. The due consideration of all which will make vs to imitate the custome of good citizens, which seeing their citie on fire, loose no time to enquire how and when the fire began, but endeuor themselues with engins, buckets of water, and other necessaries to quench the flame thereof. Wherefore let vs, without loosing any more time, runne to the remedy following.

The Third Part: a Remedie against the Canker of Englands Common wealth.

. . . . . .

Hauing found out the efficient cause, the remedie is easie, and most commonly great matters are cured by easie remedies. And by that which hath bene sayd, euery man of iudgement may easily gather that the exchange for all places ought to be kept at a certaintie in price, according to value for value. . . .

For the keeping of the price of exchange at a certaintie, according to value for value, some are of opinion, whereas these exchanges are most commonly made by certaine persons sworne to deale honestly betweene partie and partie, commonly called brokers, that euerie merchant exchanging should be bound vpon a penalty not to make any exchanges without them, and according to their direction . . . in the course whereof there should be no other difference betweene the deliuerer and taker vp of monies, but after ten vpon the hundreth for the yeare, and to make them payable at some short time, to cut off the merchandizing of the same, both here and beyond the seas.

Others that do not like to enter into bonds do allow of the opinion of those that do affirme the same would be more exactly done by certaine skilfull and substanciall men, thereunto authorised by her most excellent Maiestie, to be the generall

exchangers with whom all men should be commaunded to make their exchaunges. . . .

The most noble kings of this realme *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, *Henry* the fourth, *Henry* the fift, *Henry* the sixt, and especially *Henry* the seuenth, made most noble statutes against the abuses of exchange, and for the increase of their customes; and then the right exchange (as doctor Wilson sayth) was onely vsed by the king or his exchanger, albeit there was not any such vrgent cause; so that the merchant stranger, bringing his wares into the realme, did first pay his custome, and hauing made sale of his commodities, and imploying the money that he receiued here vpon the commodities of the Realme, according to the Statute 14. R. 2, and so paying custome againe, departed home to his countrey, without carying any money at all by exchange; for if there were not sufficient commoditie here in wares, he made his exchange then with the Kings exchanger, and none other, for that it was knowne vnto the exchanger what exchange hee made and vppon what course. But if this matter be now a dayes duely considered of, it will not bee found of such importance as it is taken to be, neither for the increase of the customes of the Prince, or aduancement of the sale and price of our home commodities, the trade whereof would best become our English merchants, as the trade of the forreine commodities is fittest for the merchant strangers, leauing the due course of exchange in manner aforesayd free for both parties to make their returne by, vpon all occasions, which would proue very profitable to the realme and her maiesties customes, considering the sayd statute doth onely command the meere merchant stranger, and not the denisons which are the principall dealers; our home commodities being also so needfull, and of continuall request, that at al times they are most vendible, notwithstanding some small interruptions which now and then by reason of the warres and other controuersies do happen.

If the forrein commodities were for the most part imported by merchants strangers, which pay more custome then the natiue subiect doth, her Maiesties customes would very much increase. Againe, if they were bought better cheape, more would be vented with vs, and likewise greater quantity of our home commodities

transported, especially when money doth abound. Lastly, the trade of our commodities would increase, if the trade of the merchandizing exchange did cease. And were it not that the forrein commodities are consumed within the realme, it were great reason that as the price thereof is risen, so likewise the custome should be payd somewhat accordingly.

[The Portuguese take twenty per cent custom on spices coming from the East Indies and one per cent on the export of the same, making their country a store-house for spices. The Hollanders do the same for corn coming from the East countries.]

But returning to the matter in hand, we say that the course of trafficke before mentioned would be effected by the reformation of the exchaunge. For when our merchants should haue abilitie giuen them to import money, then would they bring the lesser quantitie of forreine commodities, and the merchant strangers would bring the more. And againe on the contrarie, the more readie money, either *in specie* or by exchange, that our merchants should make their returne by, the more employment would they make vpon our home commodities, aduancing the price thereof, which price would augment the quantitie by setting more people on worke; and would also increase her maiesties customes outward. . . . And this reformation is in effect no more but as it were the keeping of our owne weight and measure, namely our money and exchange, to sell our commodities by; seeing that trusting other nations therewith, we haue bene hitherto deceiued. Neither can any nation take hereby any offence at all, we receiuing value for value, as they with reason do also one of another.

The remedy is easie, and yet of such moment, that as the course of things doth carry alwayes a great command, so should we find that of course diuerse statutes should be obserued or executed, *viz.*, the statutes of 9 E. 3, 25 E. 3, 5 R. 2, 2 H. 4, 2 H. 6, 4 H. 7, 5 E. 6, prohibiting the transportation of money and bullion, &c. The statutes of 9 E. 3, 15 E. 3, 14 R. 2, 3 H. 7, and other concerning exchanges, to haue their due course, both within the realme and for forrein parts, hauing according to the tenor therof exchangers for the monies of siluer and gold, and for the monies or bullion brought ouer, in buying the same and deliuering it into her maiesties mint, as may be seene by the

statutes of 8 H. 5 and 20 E. 3, before mentioned, whereby her Maiestie should haue the due gaines of her mint and poore moniers should continually worke. For the execution whereof, monies were coyned in those dayes in seuerall places of the realme, howbeit all by the direction of the maister of the kings mint at *London;* Namely at *Canterbury*, at *Kingston-vpon-Hull*, *Newcastle-vpon-Tine*, at *Bristow* and *Excester*. And the exchanger for the king at *London* did also depute exchangers in the most places, sauing that certaine merchants of *Florence* called *Friscobaldi* were the kings exchangers at *Kingston*, *Newcastle* and *Excester*, whereby appeareth the great care had thereof. It will not be amisse to remember such benefits as will redound to the merchants aduenturers by the reformation hereof, when at all times they may make a sure calculation of their gaines and accompts according to the knowne price of the exchange, or in setting ouer the bils obligatorie which they receiue of their commodities for forraine commodities, or in making ouer their monies by exchange at all times; whereby they shall not be driuen to buy forraine commodities, or stand in danger to become losers by the exchange, vpon the alteration of the price thereof, after the sale made of their commodities, and before they do receiue their money to be made ouer by exchange; and they may then altogether seeke the gaine vpon their home commodities, selling them with more reputation. When young merchants, hauing small stocks and running for moneys vpon the exchange, shall not through their rash sale abate the price of commodities, especially when more money shall be had at interest, the merchandizing exchange ceassing, whereby young merchants may be supplyed in their neede or occasions, and with smaller stockes and lesse aduenture haue greater gaines; for the Canker of this exchange shall not consume them, as it hath done many of them and others, and that vnawares: for the same is like vnto the Serpent *Aspis*, which stingeth men in such sort, that they fall into a pleasant sleepe vntill they dye.

If any man shall make doubt of the execution hereof, let him but haue a due consideration of the course of the right exchange, both here and beyond the seas, and he will wonder that so great matters can be brought to passe by so easie meanes, especially whereas it might be thought difficult, in regard of other nations.

First, the gaine had vpon the mony deliuered by exchange here in England (either really or imaginatiuely) being taken away, will cause the merchandizing therof to cease. We call that really, when *in specie* the mony is paid, and imaginatiuely, when in regard of the generall want of monies it is in effect but payd as it were by assignation. And then all such merchants, either strangers or natiue subjects, which deliuer their mony by exchange for gain shall deliuer the same at interest, causing plentie of mony within the realm for the generall good.

Secondly, for the course of the exchange beyond the seas, euery man can easily vnderstand that, as the gaine of the exchange appeareth only by the returne thereof, that no merchant stranger will deliuer any money vnto our merchants, when he shall know the certaintie of the price of exchange which doth exclude the gaine, considering that all men within the Realme shall make their exchanges at a certaintie, either by the meanes of Brokers or the generall exchangers, especially our merchants beyond the seas being generally the deliuerers of money and few of them takers vp. So that this course of exchaunge shall command other nations, we hauing moreouer the heade of this principall exchange of our 20 shillings sterling, whereupon exchanges are made, and so the head will commaund and direct the other members of the body. Neither will merchants straungers take vp money by exchange at a lower price to their losse of any of our merchants then our exchangers deputie wil giue, but will rather cause their money to be made ouer from hence; for gaine beareth stil the sway in the course of trade.

Thirdly, the generall course of this exchange in the chiefe places of trade will gouerne the particular, as it is in al traffiques. . . . For if our merchants that do deliuer the money must giue much to haue their money payed here in England, it will be for the good of the Realme, for they will sell their commodities accordingly vpon this occasion. And if they do deliuer it at a lowe rate vnder our exchangers price, the matter cannot be great; for those also which are the takers thereof will rather take it of our exchangers deputies at a better rate, by the meanes of their friends or factors dwelling in the chiefe places of traffique,

where our merchants shall deliuer their monies to the exchangers deputies, euen as merchants straungers shall do here in England. And the merchandizing exchange (which causeth one summe of money to be exchanged (for the most places) 6 times in a yeare) being taken away, the ordinarie exchange is not of any such moment, that we should doubt of the sufficiencie of such substantiall men as might execute the same; considering also that they shall serue euery mans turne that will take vp money by exchange here of them; and that there shall be no constraint for any man to deliuer his money here or beyond the seas, but may employ the same vpon commodities at his pleasure.

Lastly, let vs answere to some obiections. . . .

To the generall obiection, that selling our commodities dearer would be an interruption to the traffique, we haue already shewed how necessarie our commodities are, and what request thereof is in all places; so that such controuersies as sometimes arise are alwaies qualified or ended by the procurement of the aduerse parties themselves. . . .

Againe, that young merchants or others shall not haue so much credit at the hands of the exchangers as they haue now at diuerse mens hands, and that therefore it were better to enter into bond as aforesaid, which would be duely obserued, because the bils of exchanges should beare witnesse against them. Let us consider that they should not haue such great occasions to take vp money, when money should be plentifully here deliuered at interest, which is now deliuered by exchange, whereas also they may bring ouer monies for their returne when they see cause, and the exchangers, receiuing here much money at the merchants straungers hand by exchange, would be glad to giue a greater credit to haue the better meanes to repay the money beyond the seas to the merchant stranger.

The difference betwixt those that deliuer their money at interest or by exchange, in regard of vsurie, consisteth onely in the name, for they haue both an intention of gaine vpon money, and do beare an aduenture for the losse of their monies, whereas the one is certaine to haue no more but ten vpon the hundred at the most, and the other doth expect at the least 15 or 20 vpon the hundreth, in regard whereof he is contented to stand in aduenture to lose sometimes (and that seldome) by exchange,

but still the intention remaineth, which should be the surest guide of conscience to take away false or counterfeit pretences.

Exchanges will be made vnderhand or secretly, notwithstanding their bonds or prescriptions. As how, I pray you? Surely he that is the deliuerer of mony will take no lesse for our 20 shillings sterling then the rate of the exchange shall be; and if the taker will giue him more, and he will take it without regarding his bond, the Realme looseth nothing thereby, albeit the partie doth lose, if he do not sell his commodities beyond the seas accordingly. Againe, beyond the seas will any merchant stranger take vp money at a lesser rate then the exchange, our merchants being there the deliuerers, what losse haue our merchants thereby or the Realme either? Whereas also to the generall exchanger euery merchant shall be a surueyor: so that the matter is so easily to be remedied, that vnlesse we do enter into due consideration that (as we haue said . . .) all the trade is performed by commodities, money and exchange, we will thinke it to be impossible, vntill we find out, that the abuse of exchange hath made the course thereof to be predominant ouer the commodities and monies. . . .

[The writer commends the good order of the Venetians] in ruling the market for their corn and victuals, imposing a certaine price, vpon due knowledge had of the quantity of corne monethly in any of their dominions; whereupon they appoint some graue and honest men in euery principall citie, who on euery Monday of the week are authorised (according to the quantitty of corne) to set a price thereof: according to which also the Baker is to make the bread of such weight as they shall and do declare that day . . . wherby euen the poorest man (who hath greater reason of care) may know what he is to haue for his penny; for the which calling at the Bakers house, and finding any fault, he may take, with the assistance (as it were) of the Constable, al the bread then exstant at the Bakers house as forfeited, the one halfe vnto him and the other halfe to the poore. By which meanes all engrossers and forestallers are cut off, because they are vncertaine what the price of the market will be from time to time, which maketh them not desirous to buy. And againe, the magistrate is not troubled to see this good order

executed; for euery man hath an especiall care to haue his owne. How many statutes would bee executed hereby also if the like order were established in England, let the learned in the lawe iudge, not only for engrossers and forestallers, but also of inclosures of grounds, incorporating of farmes, decay of husbandry, conuerting arable grounds into pasture, and all good orders concerning corne; which being duely prouided for within the Realme, or from elsewhere vpon occasion of scarcitie thereof, and withall hauing plentie of money, who seeth not that these are two pillars and props for the maintenance of a commonwealth, euen as sinceritie of religion, and the loue of the people are the two especial props or pillars of the state of a Prince?

No man would be angry with him that were in a house and espied some fault in the beames or rafters of the same, and would insearch the default, and then certifie the goodman of the house thereof, or some other dwelling therein, as well for his owne safegard as for others; for it is hard to heale a sore that a man would not haue opened to his Phisition, though he be neuer so skilfull and of great experience. How weightie and important the studie hereof is let all states-men and Polititians be iudges; for like as experience doth beget wisedome as a father, so memorie nourisheth it as a mother, which both are holpen and furthered by learning; and as he cannot attaine to learning who is without the knowledge of the seuen liberall sciences: no more can he be a right states-man, in seeking the increase of the Princes customes and reuenues, to haue the Princes coffers well furnished, vnlesse he do first studie the way of preseruation and augmentation of the wealth of the Realme; for the welfare wherof, ioyntly with the preseruation of her Maiesties royall person, the Authour daily prayeth vnto the Almightie, by whom al Princes do rule and states do subsist.

Qui plus expendit
Quam rerum copia tendit,
Non admiretur
Si paupertate grauetur.

FINIS.

SECTION IV.—POVERTY AND VAGABONDS.

1. CROWLEY ON ALMSHOUSES AND BEGGARS, 1550.

[Select Works of Robert Crowley, ed. J. M. Cowper (E.E.T.S., 1872), pp. 11-12, 14-16.]

Of Almes Houses.

A Marchaunte, that longe tyme hadde bene in straunge landis,
Returned to his contrey, whiche in Europe standes.
And in his returne, hys waye laye to passe
By a Spittlehouse, not farre from where his dwelling was.
He loked for this hospitall, but none coulde he se;
For a lordely house was builte where the hospitall should be.
Good Lorde (sayd this marchaunt) is my contrey so wealthy,
That the verye beggers houses be builte so gorgiouslye?
Than, by the waye syde, hym chaunced to se
A pore manne that craued of hym for charitie.
Whye (quod thys Marchaunt) what meaneth thys thynge?
Do ye begge by the waye, and haue a house for a kyng?
Alas! syr (quod the pore man) we are all turned oute,
And lye and dye in corners, here and there aboute.
Men of greate riches haue bought our dwellinge place,
And whan we craue of them, they turne awaye their face.
Lorde God! (quod this marchaunt) in Turkye haue I bene,
Yet emonge those heathen none such crueltie haue I sene.
The vengeaunce of God muste fall, no remedye,
Vpon these wicked men, and that verye shortelye.

Of Beggers.

The beggers, whome nede compelleth to craue,
Ought at our handis some reliefe to haue;

But such as do counterfayt, haueynge theyr strength
To labour if they luste, beyng knowne at the length,
Ought to be constrayned to worcke what they can,
And lyue on theyr laboures, as besemeth a Christyan;
And if they refuse to worcke for theyr meate,
Then ought they to faste, as not worthy to eate.
And such as be sore, and wyll not be healed,
Oughte not in any case to be charished.
I heard of two beggars that vnder an hedge sate,
Who dyd wyth longe talke theyr matters debate.
They had boeth sore legges, most lothsome to se;
Al rawe from the fote welmost to the knee.
'My legge,' quod the one, 'I thank God, is fayre.'
'So is myne,' (quod the other) 'in a colde ayre;
For then it loketh rawe, and as redde as any bloud,
I woulde not haue it healed, for any worldis good;
For were it once whole, my lyuinge were gone,
And for a sturdye begger I shoulde be take anone.
No manne woulde pittye me, but for my sore legge;
Wherfore, if it were whole, I might in vaine begge.
I shoulde be constrained to laboure and sweate,
And perhaps sometime wyth schourges be beate.'
'Well' (sayde the tother) 'lette vs take hede therefore,
That we let them not heale, but kepe them styll sore.'
An other thynge I hearde of a begger that was lame,
Muche like one of these, if it were not the same;
Who, syttinge by the fire, wyth the cuppe in his hande,
Began to wonder whan he shoulde be a good husbande.
'I shall neuer thriue' (quod this begar) 'I wene;
For I gate but xvi. *d.* to daye, and haue spente eyghtene.
Well, let the worlde wagge, we muste neades haue drynke;
Go fyll me thys quarte pot, full to the brynke.
The tonge muste haue bastynge, it wyll the better wagge,
To pull a Goddes penye out of a churles bagge.'
Yet cesse not to gyue to all, wythoute anye regarde;
Thoughe the beggers be wicked, thou shalte haue thy rewarde.

2. SOME ROGUES FROM HARMAN'S "CAUEAT FOR COMMEN CVRSETORS," 1567.

[A Caueat or Warening for Commen Cursetors vulgarely called Vagabones, set forth by Thomas Harman, Esquiere, ed. E. Viles and F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S., 1869, reprinted 1898), pp. 31-36, 44-49, 65.]

[Harman describes twenty-four orders of vagabonds, as follows:

Rufflers, sturdy vagabonds who begged from the strong and robbed the weak.

Upright Men, vagabonds who were strong enough to be rulers among their fellows.

Hookers or Anglers, thieves who stole clothing etc. out of open windows by means of a hooked stick.

Rogues, ordinary vagabonds, not so strong as the Upright Men.

Wild Rogues, rogues born on the road of vagabond parents.

Pryggers of Prancers, horse stealers,

Palliards, beggars who exhibited artificial sores.

Fraters, sham procters,

Abraham Men, beggars who pretended to be mad. (Compare Edgar in *King Lear*).

Fresh Water Mariners or Whipjacks, vagabonds who pretended to be shipwrecked sailors.

Counterfeit Cranks, beggars who pretended to have the falling sickness. (Compare Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale*).

Dommerers, sham deaf mutes.

Drunken Tinkers and *Swadders or Pedlars*, who used their trades as a cloak for thieving.

Jarckmen, makers of false licenses.[1]

Patricoes, hedge-priests.[1]

Demaunders for Glymmar, men or women begging for pretended losses for fire.

Bawdy Baskets, female pedlars.

[1] Harman says that these two classes (which are mentioned in Awdeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*) do not exist.

Autem Morts, women who had been married in church.
Walking Morts, unmarried whores.
Doxies, female companions of rogues.
Dells, young girls not yet broken in by the Upright Men.
Kynchin Morts, female children.
Kynchin Caes, male children.]

A Vpright Man.

A Vpright man, the second in secte of this vnsemely sorte, must be next placed, of these rainginge rablement of rascales; some be seruing men, artificers and laboryng men traded vp in husbandry. These not mindinge to get their lyuinge with the swete of their face, but casting of all payne, wyll wander, after their wycked maner, through the most shyres of this realm,—As Sommerset shyre, Wylshire, Barke shyre, Oxforde shyre, Harfordeshyre, Myddilsex, Essex, Suffolke, Northfolke, Sussex, Surrye, and Kent, as the cheyfe and best shyres of reliefe. Yea, not with out punishment by stockes, whyppinges and imprisonment, in most of these places aboue sayde. Yet, not with standinge they haue so good lykinge in their lewed, lecherous loyteringe, that full quiclye all their punishmentes is for gotten, And repentaunce is neuer thought vpon vntyll they clyme three tres with a ladder. These vnrewly rascales, in their roylynge, disperse them selues into seuerall companyes, as occation serueth, sometyme more and somtyme lesse; As, if they repayre to a poore husbandmans house, hee wyll go a lone, or one with him, and stoutely demaund his charytie, eyther shewing how he hath serued in the warres, and their maymed, eyther that he seketh e seruice, and saythe that he woulde be glad to take payne for hys lyuinge, althoughe he meaneth nothinge lesse. Yf he be offered any meate or drynke, he vtterlye refusethe scornefully, and wyll nought but money; and yf he espye yong pyges or pultry, he well noteth the place, and they the next night, or shortly after, hee wyll be sure to haue some of them, whyche they brynge to their stawlinge kens, which is their typplyng houses, as well knowen to them, according to the olde prouerbe, 'as the begger knowes his dishe.' For you must vnderstand, euery Typplyng

ale house wyll neyther receiue them or their wares, but some certayne houses in euery shyre, especially for that purpose, where they shalbe better welcome to them then honester men. . . . These vpright men stand so much vpon their reputation, as they wyl in no case haue their wemen walke with them, but seperat them selues for a tyme, a moneth or more, And mete at fayres, or great markets, where they mete to pylfer and steale from staules, shoppes, or bothes. At these fayres the vpryght men vse commonly to lye and lingar in hye wayes by lanes, some prety way or distaunce from the place, by which wayes they be assured that compeny passeth styll two and fro, And ther they wyll demaund, with cap in hand and comly curtesy, the deuotion and charity of the people. They haue ben much lately whipped at fayrs. Yf they aske at a stout yemans or farmars house his charity, they wyll goe strong as thre or foure in a company. Where for feare more then good wyll, they often haue reliefe; they syldome or neuer passe by a Iustices house, but haue by wayes, vnlesse he dwell alone, and but weakely manned; thether wyll they also go strong, after a slye, suttle sorte, as with their armes bounde vp with kercher or lyste, hauinge wrapte about the same filthy clothes, either their legges in such maner bewrapped halting down right. Not vnprouided of good codgels, which they cary to sustayne them, and, as they fayne, to keepe dogges from them, when they come to such good gentlemens houses.

Yf any searche be made or they suspected of pylfring clothes of hedgges, or breaking of houses, which they commonly do when the owners bee eyther at the market, church, or other wayes occupyed aboute their busines,—eyther robbe some sely man or woman by the hye waye, as many tymes they do,—Then they hygh them into wodes, great thickets, and other ruffe corners, where they lye lurkinge thre or foure dayes to gether, and haue meate and drinke brought them by theyre Mortes and Doxes; and whyle they thus lye hydden in couert, in the night they be not idle,—nether, as the common saying is, 'well occupyed'; for then, as the wyly foxe, crepinge out of his den, seketh his praye for pultery, so do these for lynnen and any thinge els worth money, that lyeth about or neare a house.

As somtyme a whole bucke of clothes caryed awaye a tyme. When they haue a greatter booty then they maye cary awaye quickly to their stawling kendes, as is aboue sayd, They wyll hyde the same for a thre dayes in some thicke couert, and in the night time carye the same, lyke good water Spanlles, to their foresayd houses. To whom they wyll discouer where or in what places they had the same, where the markes shalbe pycked out cleane, and conuayed craftely fare of, to sell, If the man or woman of the house want money them selues. If these vpright men haue nether money nor wares, at these houses they shalbe trusted for their vitales, and it amount to twentye or thirty shyllings. . . . And if they chaunce to be retained into seruice, through their lamentable words, with any welthy man, They wyll tary but a smale tyme, either robbing his maister or som of his fellowes. And some of them vseth this polocye, that although they trauayle into al these shyres, aboue said, yet wyl they haue good credite, espiciallye in one shyre, where at diuers good farmars houses they be wel knowen, where they worke a moneth in a place or more, and wyll for that time behaue them selues very honestly and paynfully; And maye at any tyme, for their good vsage, haue worke of them; and to these at a ded lyft, or last refuge, they maye safely repayre vnto and be welcom, When in other places, for a knacke of knauery that they haue playd, thei dare not tary.

These vpright men wil sildom or neuer want; for what is gotten by anye Mort, or Doxe, if it please him, hee doth comaunde the same. And if he mete any begger, whether he be sturdye or impotent, he wyll demaund of him, whether euer he was stalled to the roge or no. If he saye he was, he wyll know of whom, and his name that stalled hym. And if he be not learnedly able to shewe him the whole circumstaunce thereof, he wyll spoyle him of his money, either of his best garment, if it be worth any money, and haue him to the bowsing ken, Which is the typpling house next adioyninge; and laieth their to gage the best thing that he hath for twenty pence or two shyllinges: this man obeyeth for feare of beating. Then doth this vpright man call for a gage of bowse, whiche is a quarte pot of drinke, and powres the same vpon his peld pate, adding these words:—

'I. G. P. do stalle thee W. T. to the Roge, and that from hence forth it shall be lawefull for the to Cant'—that is, to aske or begge—'for thy liuing in al places.' Here you se that the vpright man is of great auctorite. For all sortes of beggers are obedient to his hests, and surmounteth all others in pylfring and stealinge. . . .

A Hoker, or Angglear.

These hokers, or Angglers, be peryllous and most wicked knaues, and be deryued or procede forth from the vpright men; they commenly go in frese ierkynes and gally slopes, poynted benethe the kne; these when they practise there pylfringe, it is by night; for, as they walke a day times from house to house, to demaund charite, they vigelantly marke where or in what place they maye attayne to there praye, casting there eyes vp to euery wyndow, well noting what they se their, whether apparell or linnen, hanginge nere vnto the sayde wyndowes, and that wyll they be sure to haue the next night folowing; for they customably carry with them a staffe of v. or vi. foote long, in which, within one ynch of the tope therof, ys a lytle hole bored through, in which hole they putte an yron hoke, and with the same they wyll pluck vnto them quickly any thing that they may reche ther with, which hoke in the day tyme they couertly cary about them, and is neuer sene or taken out till they come to the place where they worke there fete: such haue I sene at my house, and haue oft talked with them, and haue handled ther staues, not then vnderstanding to what vse or intent they serued, although I hadde and perceiued, by there talke and behauiour, great lykelyhode of euyll suspition in them: they wyl ether leane vppon there staffe, to hyde the hole thereof, when they talke with you, or holde their hande vpon the hole; and what stuffe, either wollen or lynen, they thus hoke out, they neuer carye the same forth with to their staulyng kens, but hides the same a iij. daies in some secret corner, and after conuayes the same to their houses aboue-said, where their host or hostys geueth them money for the same, but halfe the value that it is worth, or els their doxes shall

a farre of sell the same at the like houses. I was credebly informed that a hoker came to a farmers house in the ded of the night, and putting back a drawe window of a low chamber, the bed standing hard by the sayd wyndow, in which laye three parsones (a man and two bygge boyes), this hoker with his staffe plucked of their garments which lay vpon them to kepe them warme, with the couerlet and shete, and lefte them lying a slepe naked sauing there shertes, and had a way all clene, and neuer could vnderstande where it became. I verely suppose that when they wer waked with cold, they suerly thought that Robin goodfelow (accordinge to the old saying) had bene with them that night.

A Pallyard.

These Palliardes be called also Clapperdogens: these go with patched clokes, and haue their Morts with them, which they cal wiues; and if he goe to one house, to aske his almes, his wife shall goe to a nother: for what they get (as bread, cheese, malte, and woll) they sell the same for redy money; for so they get more and if they went together. Although they be thus diuided in the daie, yet they mete iompe at night. . . . Ther be many Irishe men that goe about with counterfeate licences; and if they perceiue you wil straytly examen them, they will immediatly saye they can speake no Englishe.

Farther, vnderstand for trouth that the worst and wickedst of all this beastly generation are scarse comparable to these prating Pallyardes. All for the most parte of these wil either lay to their legs an herb called Sperewort, eyther Arsnicke, which is called Ratesbane. The nature of this Spereworte wyll rayse a great blister in a night vpon the soundest part of his body; and if the same be taken away, it wyl dry vp againe and no harme. But this Arsnicke will so poyson the same legge or sore, that it will euer after be incurable: this do they for gaine and to be pitied. The most of these that walke about be Walchmen.

A Frater.

Some of these Fraters will cary blacke boxes at their gyrdel, wher in they haue a briefe of the Queenes maiesties letters

patentes, geuen to suche poore spitlehouse for the reliefe of the poore there, whiche briefe is a coppie of the letters patentes, and vtterly fained, if it be in paper or in parchment without the great seale. Also, if the same brief be in printe, it is also of auctoritie. For the Printers wil see and wel vnderstand, before it come in presse, that the same is lawfull. Also, I am credibly informed that the chiefe Proctors of manye of these houses, that seldome trauel abroad them selues, but haue their factors to gather for them, whiche looke very slenderly to the impotent and miserable creatures committed to their charge, and die for want of cherishing; wheras they and their wiues are wel crammed and clothed, and will haue of the best. And [i.e. if] the founders of euery such house, or the chiefe of the parishe wher they be, woulde better see vnto these Proctors, that they might do their duty, they should be wel spoken of here, and in the world to come aboundantly therefore rewarded. . . .

A Abraham Man.

These Abrahom men be those that fayne themselues to haue beene mad, and haue bene kept eyther in Bethelem or in some other pryson a good tyme, and not one amongst twenty that euer came in pryson for any such cause: yet wyll they saye howe pitiously and most extreamely they haue bene beaten, and dealt with all. Some of these be merye and verye pleasant, they wyll daunce and sing; some others be as colde and reasonable to talke wyth all. These begge money; eyther when they come at Farmours howses they wyll demaunde Baken, eyther cheese, or wooll, or any thinge that is worthe money. And if they espye small company within, they wyll with fierce countenaunce demaund some what. Where for feare the maydes wyll geue theym largely to be ryd of theym. If they maye conuenyently come by any cheate, they wyl picke and steale, as the vpright man or Roge, poultrey or lynnen. And all wemen that wander bee at their commaundemente. Of all that euer I saw of this kynde, one naminge him selfe Stradlynge is the craftiest and moste dyssemblyngest Knaue. Hee is able wyth hys tounge and vsage to deceaue and abuse the wysest man that is. And surely for

the proporcion of his body, with euery member there vnto appertayninge, it cannot be a mended. But as the prouerbe is "God hath done his part." Thys Stradlyng sayth he was the Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed, for very pensiuenes of mynde, he fell out of his wytte, and so continued a yeare after and more; and that with the very greefe and feare he was taken wyth a marueilous palsey, that both head and handes wyll shake when he talketh with anye, and that a pase or fast, where by he is much pytied, and getteth greately. And if I had not demaunded of others, bothe men and women, that commonly walketh as he doth, and knowen by them his deepe dissimylation, I neuer hadde vnderstand the same. And thus I end wyth these kynde of vacabondes.

A Freshe Water Mariner or Whipiacke.

These Freshwater Mariners, their shipes were drowned in the playne of Salisbery. These kynde of Caterpillers counterfet great losses on the sea; these bee some Western men, and most bee Irishe men. These wyll runne about the countrey wyth a counterfet lycence, fayninge either shypwracke, or spoyled by Pyrates, neare the coaste of Cornwall or Deuonshyre, and set a lande at some hauen towne there, hauynge a large and formall wrytinge, as is aboue sayd, with the names and seales of suche men of worshyppe, at the leaste foure or fiue, as dwelleth neare or next to the place where they fayne their landinge. And neare to those shieres wyll they not begge, vntyll they come into Wylshyre, Hamshyre, Barkeshyre, Oxfordshyre, Harfordshyre, Middelsex, and so to London, and downe by the ryuer to seeke for their shyppe and goods that they neuer hade: then passe they through Surrey, Sossex, by the sea costes, and so into Kent, demaunding almes to bring them home to their country. . . .

A Bawdy Basket.

These Bawdy baskets be also wemen, and go with baskets and Capcases on their armes, where in they haue laces, pynnes, nedles, white ynkell, and round sylke gyrdles of al colours. These wyl bye conneyskins, and steale linen clothes of on hedges. And for their trifles they will procure of mayden

seruaunts, when their mystres or dame is oute of the waye, either some good peace of beefe, baken, or cheese, that shalbe worth xij. pens, for ii. pens of their toyes. . . . The vpright men haue good acquayntance with these, and will helpe and relieue them when they want. Thus they trade their lyues in lewed lothsome lechery. Amongest them all is but one honest woman, and she is of good yeares; her name is Ione Messenger. I haue had good proofe of her, as I haue learned by the true report of diuers.

3. EXTRACT FROM JOHN HOWES' FIRST "FAMILIAR AND FRENDELY DISCOURSE DIALOGUE WYSE," 1582.

[A Familiar and Frendely Discourse Dialogue Wyse Setting Forthe the Fyrste Order and Manner of the Erreccions of the Hospitalles Christes, Bridewell and St. Thomas the Apostle. Printed in Contemporaneous Account . . . of the Formation and Early History of Christ's Hospital [etc.] by John Howes, sometime Renter and Gatherer of Legacies to Christ's Hospital. Printed for the Governors of Christ's Hospital, London, 1889. Pp. 8-13 *passim*. In this extract the questions and comments of the interrogator, Dignity, are omitted and only the words of the narrator, Duty, are given, for reasons of space.]

[Howes gives reasons for the great increase of poor in London in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and shows that St. Bartholomew's Hospital, refounded by the former, no longer sufficed to deal with those who were sick, while the streets swarmed with rogues and beggars. He tells how Bishop Ridley, in a sermon before Edward VI., urged the king to have a care for the relief of the poor, and how the king sent letters to the Lord Mayor requiring the City to take action in the matter.]

After the L. Maior and his bretheren had well consydered of the kings lettres, they thoughte yt very convenyent to calle tenne or twelve of the wysest cittezens and to appoynte certaine Aldermen to mete and conferre with them what were best to be donne. And to sette downe in wrighting somme plattforme which waie these greate nombers of ydell rogishe wandring beggers mighte

be removed oute of the streates and every sorte placed in sundrie houses, the younge, the aged, the sore and the lustie roge, and every of these to be made proffitable members in the common wealthe . . . This worthie Bysshoppe Mr. Doctour Rydley, whoe was the fyrste begetter of those good beginnings, did not cease, but effectually followed the L. Maior that then was, Sir Richarde Dabbes, whoe was a verye earnest man in setting forwards of this worcke. So that after dyvers meetings of the Byshoppe and other wyse Cyttezens, they devysed a booke wherein they had sette downe in what sorte and manner they woulde have these poore provided for. . . .

Fyrste they devysed to take oute of the streates all the fatherles children and other poore mens children, that were not able to kepe them, and to bringe them to the late dissolved house of the Greie Fryers, which they devysed to be an hospitall for them, where they shoulde have meate, drincke and cloths, lodging and learning and officers to attende vppon them. They allso devysed that there should be provision made to kepe the sicke from the whole, and layed a platte to have purchased Fynnsburye Courte and there to have kepte the children in a freshe aire in the tyme of sicknes, because they feared leaste throughe the corrupte nature of the children, whoe being taken from the dounghill mighte one infecte another, being packte up in one house, and so putte the hole Cyttie in Daunger of infection. . . . Then the Governours devysed that the sucking children and suche as for wante of yeres were not able to learne shoulde be kepte in the Countreye and allwaies at Easter broughte home. . . . There was allso devysed to be taken oute of the streates all the lame and aged people, such as had not any place to goe vnto. And they shoulde all be convayed to the Hospitall of St. Thomas in Sowthwarke, where they shoulde have meate, drincke, and lodging, Chirurgians and other officers to attende vppon them. . . . Then they did devyse that all the ydell and lustie roges, as well men as woemen, shoulde all be taken vp and be convayed into somme house, where they shoulde have all things necessarie and be compellde to labour. . . . Then they devysed that all the lazer people shoulde be removed out of the streates and have monthly pencions payde them, to the ende

that they shoulde not anoye the kings subiects resorting to the Cittie. . . . They allso devysed yett more, that all the decayed poore Cyttezens shoulde be made knowne and that every of them shoulde have wekelye a pencion according to his necessitie. . . .

Nowe you maie see that the Cyttezens devysed to clense the Cyttie cleane of all sorts of beggers from tyme to tyme. And because they shoulde not encrease, they devysed to augemente the nomber of theire beadles, to the ende they shoulde dailye attende and wayte in the streates and at the gates of the Cyttie that no Countrey beggers shoulde comme yn to anoye or putt the Cyttie to any farther charge. . . . There was allso devysed that all lame men and woemen, which shoulde be cured and made hole, shoulde be broughte to the house of Labour, as allso all the theves which shoulde be acquytted eyther by theire booke or by proclamacion, that they shoulde all be broughte to the house of labour and there kept vntyll they mighte be better provided for. . . .

The plattforme thus drawne was delyvered in wrighting to the L. Maior and courte of Aldermen, where yt was generallie well lyked. With this booke they delyvered a peticion in wrighting to this effecte, that this theire travaile myghte be putt in execucion and not die in oblyvion. . . . God stirred vp a greate nomber which did prosecute and followe the sute, whoe never lefte the L. Maior and Courte of Aldermen tyll they had order to proceade and power gyven them to doe all that was nedefull in that accion. . . . These that had fyrste drawen this platte chose as many vnto them of Aldermen and other grave Cyttezens as made up the full nomber of xxx^{tie} persons, and chose officers to attende vppon them to warne theire meetings, which comonly they did every daie vntill they had broughte this worcke vnto perfecte rypenes. . . . These xxx^{tie} persons devysed to sende precepts to every Alderman and to the Wardeines of every Companye to this effecte: that they with theire officers shoulde make dilligent searche within every of theire Wardes and companyes, what nomber of poore fatherlesse children, what nomber of aged, lame and impotent persons, and what nomber of ydell roges, as well woemen as men. As allso what nomber of decayed housholders were in everye Companie and

Warde within the Cyttie of London and lyberties of the same. And after this searche so made, they all agreed to sett downe in wrighting theire whole nombers in a booke. . . .

This searche being dilligently made throughoute the Cyttie, the Aldermen of every Warde and the Wardeines of every Companye broughte in theire reportes severallye of everye of the sortes of the poore. . . . The nomber was greate indede as shall appeare, viz.:—

Of Fatherles children	300
Of Sore and sicke persons	200
Of poore men overburdened with theire children	350
Of aged persons	400
Of decayed householders	650
Of ydell vagabondes	200
The whole nomber ys as yt appeareth to be of all sortes which requyred present relefe .	2160 [*sic*]

. . . These xxx^{tie} persons did comonly mete every daie in the inner chamber in the Gvildhall, where they fyrste thoughte good to begynne with themselves, and agreed to presse vppon every of them selves a severall somme of money according to his calling and abillitie, some 20$^{li.}$, some 10$^{li.}$, some more, some lesse. There was allso graunted them the fynes of twoe which were chosen Shiriffs, which was 200$^{li.}$, so that the whole some at that tyme taken vp in presse was 748$^{li.}$ or there abouts. . . .

That which followed had allso very good successe. For after this these xxx^{tie} persons devyded them selves into twoe partes, agreing to devyde the Cittie betwene them and to calle all the preachers, mynisters, churchewardaines and sydemen, and with three or foure of the better sorte of every paryshe, before them, to the ende to perswade them that they shoulde drawe on the rest of theire paryshoners to a francke benevolence and wekely pencion. And to that effecte they delyvered therewith a very fyne wittie and learned oracion, being printed, which they gave to every preacher and mynister, the better to instructe and perswade the people in every paryshe to gyve lyberallye. . . .

They devysed allso that there shoulde be boxes provyded, and to

every Inholder there was delyvered one, to the ende that they mighte gather of theire ghests theire benevolence to that good worcke. There were allso boxes delyvered to the Wardeines of everye Companie to the same effecte, which in the ende a nomber broughte in greate somes of money, for men gave franckly, the worcke was so generally well lyked: the preachers allso at Pawles crosse did contynually perswade the people to gyve lyberally, so that money camme in abundantlye. . . . They proceaded farther. There was a devyse that every honest housholder in London shoulde have a byll prynted, wherein there was a glasse wyndowe lefte open for his name and for his somme of moneye, the tenure whereof is this:

T. W. doe franckly gyve and freely graunte foorthewith to be payde towards the ereccon of the houses for the poore—, and wekely towards the maintenaunce and continuance of the same poore—.

These bylles thus made and prynted were delyvered to the churchewardeins, to the ende that they shoulde delyver them to the honest housholders of the paryshe, and every man to sett downe his owne name and his somme what he woulde gyve presently and wekelye. . . . Uppon the retourne of these boxes, bylles and benevolences, and every thing entred into a faire booke by the Clarcke, then these xxx^tie^ persons moved the L. Maior and Courte of Aldermen to sett downe theire benevolence, which they did, and they gave an hundrethe pownds, and 50^li.^ a yere Lande which the Cyttie had purchased of the king, which Land was tourned over to St. Thomas Hospitall. . . .

After this these xxx^tie^ persons prayed the Lorde Maior and Courte of Aldermen to have houses appoynted for the receyte and harboring of these poore people, which was willingly graunted. . . . The one was the house of the late dissolved Greyffriers, which house at that tyme stood voyde and emptie, only a nomber of hoores and roges harbored therein all nighte; the other was the house which wee nowe call St. Thomas Hospitall, which house stood voyde and emptie a long tyme; saving in Chrystes Hospitall there laie one Thomas Bryckett, Vicar of Chrystes churche, with whom the Governours compounded and boughte all his tables, beadsteads and other things,

whereof there is an Inventorye, of whose lodging the Governours made them a compting house and lodging for theire Clarcke. . . . They allso agreed that forthwith these twoe houses shoulde be repayred and made swete and redye to receyve the poore. They allso ordered that St. Thomas Hospitall should be made able to harbour and receave 300 persons. They allso ordered that Chrystes Hospitall shoulde be made redye to harbour and receave 500 persons. Allso Mr. Callthroppe, one of the xxx^tie^ persons, tooke vppon him to provyde 500 Featherbeds and 500 padds of Strawe to laie vnder the featherbedds, and as manye blancketts, and a thousande paire of shetes, to be allowed for the same when he had furnyshed as many as shoulde comme to a thousand marcks.

[The dialogue goes on to describe the appointment of officials and the reception of 380 children into Christ's Hospital, and of 260 aged and lame persons into St Thomas' Hospital, and the payment of weekly pensions to 600 decayed householders.]

You have graceously consydered of the chardge, which indede surmounted farre the receyte, which was a lytle vnder 3000^li.^, but god so wroughte in the harte of a nomber of good men, that somme men buylded and vawted the Towne dytche at theire owne proper costs and chardges. And other there were that boughte featherbedds, coverletts, shetes, blanckets, sherts and smocks and disbursed greate sommes of monye, which never came to any publicque accoumpte, so that god in secreate broughte greate things to passe in the advauncemente of this fowndacion. . . . The vertuous prynce `king Edwarde whose godly lettres were the fyrste begetters of this fowndacion, having knowledge of the forwardnes of this good worcke, did of himselfe comaunde warrante to be made, wherevnto he sett his hande, that all the lynnen belonging to the churches in London shoulde be broughte and delyvered to the Governors for the vse of these poore, reserving sufficient for the communion table, with towells and Surplyces for the mynysters and Clarckes, which lynnen did great service in those causes, and especiall in St Thomas Hospitall, where the Aged, lame and sore people were to be cured.

[There follows an account of the conversion of Bridewell into a house for setting sturdy beggars to work, and of the vicissitudes of the three hospitals in the reign of queen Mary.]

4. JOHN HOWES' SECOND "FAMYLIAR AND FRENDLY DISCOURSE DIALOGUE WYSE," 1587.

[A Famyliar and Frendly Discourse Dialogue Wyse Setting Foorthe a Nomber of Abuses Comytted in the Governemente of the Poore within this Cittie, with Sundrie Devyses for Remedye thereof bothe Pleasant for the Reader and Proffitable for the State to put in Execucion. Printed in *Op. Cit.*, pp. 34-51. This dialogue is here given in full.]

Dignitie. Dewtie, in the ende of youre Last Treatyse which you wrotte of the ereccions of the severall Hospitalles, you promysed me to sett downe the reason, whie London ys so pestered with beggers and other poore people: as allso howe the same myghte be remeadyed.

Dutie. I doe remember very well suche a speache was vsed, but nowe yt is oute of my heade and I can not nowe so well dischardge my promyse, as then I coulde. And againe, yf I shoulde enter into particulareties, I should enter into a Laborinth and tyre you with tediousnes. And therefore I will but briefelye touch somme necessarie poynts mete for the present tyme.

Dignitie. I praye you showe your good will, and that is all I doe require.

Dutie. As I remember, I sette you downe at that tyme the nomber of poore whiche the Cyttie wekelye, monethly, and yerely relevethe: As Fatherlesse children, Aged, blynde, Lame, the decayed housholder, the Lazar, and the Lustye Roge.

Dignitie. It is very true, you did soe, and therefore I praye you showe mee the reason whie and howe yt is possible that suche a nomber of poore as you make mencion of, and suche a masse of moneye as you wekely, monethly and yerely payed vnto them, and the streates yet swarme with beggers, that no man can stande or staie in any churche or streate, but presently tenne or twelve beggers comme breathing in his face, many of them having theire plague sores and other contageous disseases running on them, wandring from man to man to seke relefe, which is very daungerous to all hir maiesties good subiects, and the very highe waie to infecte the whole kingdomme.

Dutie. You have saide a trothe, but London can not releve Englande.

Dignitie. I doe not vnderstande very well your meaning of that matter.

I will discourse more hereafter, but nowe let vs come again to London, for yt can not be but there is somme fowle errour commytted in the governemente of the poore or somme Lacke of good order in the execucion of the officers.

Dutie. Trewe yt is there ar dyvers faultes, which by somme aucthoretie and power from the Magistrates maie safelye be redressed.

Dignitie. I praie you let me heare your opinion and knowledge therein.

Dutie. That famous and worthie prynce king Henrie the eighte, amoungest other his good worckes, was Founder of St. Bartholomewes hospitall, and did ordaine that there shoulde be in the Cittie of London viii Beadells to remove and carrie the soare and wounded souldyers and others to the hospitalls to be cured and healed: as allso to cleanse and scoure the streates and lanes of this cyttie, of Roges and Vagabonds: which thing is nowe neclected and not vsed.

Dignitie. What is the reason that so good a constitucion made by so famous a prince shoulde so be neclected and not be putt in execucion?

Dutie. I can gyve you no other reason then A Bedell him selfe made, whoe being requyred by a Cyttezen of good countenaunce to carrie awaie a troublesomme Roge, which did greately anoyethe the streates, which the Beadell very stoutly denyed, sayeing, that yt was not convenyent that he shoulde comme nere suche noysomme Creatures and after comme to theire maysters and tell them A tale in theire eares, yt mighte bringe greate daunger to theire worships.

Dignitie. Then I see the pryde of the Bedell is the cause that the streates swarme so with beggers: but suerly the Bedells woulde never have so neclected theire office, yf the maysters had not bene consenting therevnto.

Dewtie. Yt maie be that the maysters were very well contented that yt shoulde so be: for this presently followed. There camme newe orders which did appointe that every paryshoner shoulde, in order as his tourne camme, watche in the streates a whole daie for Roges and beggers, or one for him, which moste men refused, somme having greate busynes of theire owne to doe, and other somme, ashamed to be sene to stande quarrelling with Roges and Beggers, coulde not be drawne vnto yt, other somme

were wyllfull and woulde neyther watche them selves nor gyve any allowance for another to watche for him. And so by this meanes all order was broken and the beggers sette at lybertie to doe what them lyst.

Dignitie. It was somwhat straighte to force honest housholders and Auncyent Cittezens to execute the office of Beadells. But I see betwene the one and the other all good orders were overthrowne.

Dutie. Yt maie easely be renued and put againe in execucion: when yt please you to speake the worde yt is done.

Dignitie. You shall heare more of that hereafter; in the meane tyme I woulde knowe of you what is ment by these words, where you saie the Beadells shall cleanse and scoure the streats and lanes of Roges and beggers. Where shall they bestowe them and what shalbe comme of them?

Dutie. A good question and worthie to be answered.

When the noble prince king Henry the VIII^{te} tooke that order with the Cittie, yt was meante they shoulde avoyde from London to the place from whence they camme or last dwelte. But in the tyme of good king Edwarde the VIth a newe platte was layed and a newe promyse made by the Cyttie, that yf his maiestie woulde bestowe vpon them suche lande and suche a house, that then they woulde take vpon them to make such provision for all sorts of poore, that they shoulde no more wander and loyter vp and downe the Cittie. And to drawe the king and his Counsaile to conceave good opinion of theire promyses, they delyvered to the king in wrighting a discourse of all their devyses which is extant, wherein many things were promysed, which did so anymate the vertuous king that he yelded to theire request, and tooke vpon him the name of Founder of the hospitalls called Christes, Bridewell and St. Thomas the Apostle.

Dignitie. Trewe yt is suche a worcke was then taken in hande and camme to very good purpose, and so woulde yt doe againe yf yt were duly and truly executed; for as I remember in your other treatise you sett downe that the fatherlesse children were to be vertuously broughte vp in Christe his hospitall, the decayed housholder to have wekely reliefe in his house, the lame, the aged, and the disseased to be cured and kepte in St. Thomas hospitall, the vgly and loathsomme Lazars to be removed oute

of the streates and kepte in the Spittle and to have monethly allowance, The lusty Roge and ydell Strompetts to be kepte in Brydewell in some honest exercyses and so made proffitable members of the common wealthe; And that to the maintenaunce of the premyses these twoe worthie prynces gave yerely for ever to the Cittie greate porcions of Lande, and allso the cittezens doe yerely yelde greate sommes of money for the performance of the same; notwithstanding all this the streates swarme with Beggers.

Dutie. Trewe yt is, all this and more I did thene sett downe, and nowe yt is apparant in the eies of the worlde that the severall hospitalls ar furnyshed with those sorts of people. And yt is allso manyfest that there is not only gyven wekely greate sommes of money to the decayed housholders, but allso there is payde to dyuers Spittles nere London dyvers sommes of money monthlye to kepe the Lazar people from annoying the Cittie; this notwithstanding wee see that beggers abounde and the streates are furnyshed with ydell people, and only because the platte which was layed ys not performed. And againe at that tyme they thoughte yt convenyent to increase the nomber of the Beadells, to the ende the worlde mighte wytnes with them that they had a care not only to cleanse and scoure the streates and lanes of this Cittie from all sortes of beggers, but allso to kepe theire promyse and creadit with the kinge, to whome they have promysed this and a greate deale more.

Dignitie. I praie you shewe me the present state of your foure hospitalles, howe many they doe maintaine in eche house, and what state of lyving they have to maintaine them, and what nomber of lame and disseased they doe yerely cure of theire disseases.

Dutie. I will answer you as far as my knowledge will serve me.

Maintained by lande and by Legacies. In St Bartholomewes hospitall there ys commonly relyeved 100 and 40 persons, and there ys commonly cured of theire disseases one yere with a nother to the nomber of 442, and there is commonly spent vpon these poore and vppon suche officers as moste necessarely must attende vpon them aboute the some of 700 *li.* a yere.

Maintayned by land and by Legacies. In St Thomas hospitall there is commonlye relyeved 200 persons, and there is cured of all disseases one yere with another aboute the nomber of 400 persons, and there is dispended vpon

them and vpon theire necessarie officers one yere with another vpon the poynte of 900 *li.* more or lesse.

In Christe his hospitall there is commonly mayntayned 500 and 40 poore children, and there is of them yerely preferred to sundrie services and to the vniversities 150; there is allso payde oute of the saide hospitalles to the poore decayed housholders which they call Pencyoners, and in chardges for the children, and in ordinarie fees to sundreye officers, 4300 *li.* Maintained by the liberall diuocions of good Cittezens.

Dignitie. These ar all goodly foundacions; here appeareth a greate nomber of poore to be releved, and a greate nomber ar yerely cured and healed of dyvers disseases. All these things coulde not be perfourmed without greate chardges, which I perceave the good Cittezens very lardgely and bountefully gyveth. Now I vnderstande the state of three of your hospitalles. I praie you sett downe the state of the fourthe.

Dutie. The fourthe is Bridewell, which I will somwhat touche with other things in the end of this treatyse, wherein you shall more aptly vnderstande the state of that hospitall, as you have donne of others.

Dignitie. Then lett vs retourne againe to the matter in question and let vs heare your opinion which waie these poore maie be removed oute of the streates, for yt standes not with the creadit of the Cyttie to suffer the poore thus to wander vp and downe the Cittie and no provision for them.

Dutie. I am glad you ar in so good a vaine, and that you have so greate a care for your commonwealthe, and that you ar so well disposed as to examyn and to searche which waie the plotte maie be layed, that the poore may be relyeved and the Cyttezens vnburdened of these infamous and sclanderous reports. And truly for myne owne parte I will imploye my selfe to satysfie your expectacion. And fyrste you shall vnderstande that there ar twoe causes whie these poore doe thus wander in the Cittie. The one ys, as I saide before, throughe the carelesse and necligent governement as well of the principall governours as other Inferior officers, to whome these things doe chiefely appertaine. The other is, as I tolde you before, London can not relyeve Englande.

Dignitie. I praye you make an ende of London before you enter into Englande, and lett me heare howe the faulte maie be remeadyed in London.

Dutie. And nowe because London is pestered with the beggers of Englande, as well as with theire owne beggers inhabiting in London, I must nedes saie the faulte is in the governemente, for that London beggers ar not severed and made knowne by somme speciall marcke to be borne and worne, whereby they maie be knowne from the beggers of England; which yf yt were, as yt is not, yt woulde easely appeare that London ys condemned without desarte.

Dignitie. Truely you have sayde well; yf a man putt dyvers mens money into one bagge, yt is impossible to gyve every man the same money he put in without somme speciall marcke: so that I perceave you thincke yt is not the poore of London that pestereth the Cittie, but the poore of Englande.

Dutie. Bothe sorts, as well of London as of Englande, and only because they ar not knowne one from another.

Dignitie. What badge or marcke would you that the poore shoulde beare aboute them?

Dutie. A square of blewe clothe being a quarter every waie, wherein I woulde have prynted vpon parchement the Armes of the Cyttie, the name of the partie, the paryshe, and the pencion which he or shee wekely receaveth, being fastened to the vpper garment vpon the brest or backe, and the same daylie to weare; and whensoever they shoulde be founde without this marcke, not only to be sharpelye punnyshed, but allsoe to loose theire pencyons at the discrecion of the Governors.

Dignitie. What, woulde you have honest men or woemen, which have lyved in good state and now decayed, to beare this badge?

Dutie. God forbydde, I have no suche meaning, but to be forced vpon suche as the churchewardeins and collectours with other honest men shall suspecte to be gadders and wanderers abroade.

Dignitie. Whie then, you will not allowe them to comme to mens dores to receave the revercion of meate and porredge?

Dutie. Yes that I will, they shall have lybertie to goe to suche worshipfull houses and others which ar accustomed to gyve almes of meate and drincke, at howers to be appoynted, allwaies having theire badges on their backe or breaste.

Dignitie. The shame of this badge will make somme kepe in and not to goe abroade.

Dutie. I am perswaded that a nomber had rather loose theire wekely pencyons then to be restrained of theire lybertie of begging; notwithstanding thoughe they woulde cast of theire badges and loose theire pencyons, yet they can not avoyde theire punnyshement, which of right they oughte to have, yf any be founde so obstinate. And so by these meanes throughe the carefullnes of theire governours, the dilligence of the Beadells and the bearinge of theire badges, the cittie will be well cleansed of beggers, Roges and ydell people.

Dignitie. We have sufficiently discoursed of this matter. I see where the faulte ys; yt shall not be longe before you shall heare from me, and somme order shalbe taken yn yt. I must yet trouble you farther. The poore cryethe oute they ar oppressed by the ritche, and namely by the Landlords of Alleyes. I praye you lett me heare your opinion in that poynte.

Dutie. Truely I must confesse, one greate faulte is in the myserable covetousnes of the Landlords of Alleyes in London, whoe ar not only carelesse in receaving of Tenaunts into theire fylthie houses, but allso gredely exacting and raysing of greate rents vpon the poore, with other harde condicions, which ar not tollerable in a Christian common wealthe.

Dignitie. I praye you, what ar the condicions?

Dutie. I will shewe you.

The Landlords in many places ar victuallers, and when a poore man commeth to them to entreate to be theire tenaunte, they, sytting in theire maiestie in a cheire in the chymney corner, calle the poore man to them, saieing: sirra, woulde you be our Tenaunte? Yea, forsoothe, saithe the poore man. Wee must have our rent wekely payde vs, saie they. Ye shall, forsoothe, saith the poore man. You must fetche your bread, beeare, butter and cheese, wood and coale of vs. Yea, forsoothe, maysters, with many a crooked courtesie. What potte have you? saie they. A Tanckerde or a stone potte. Noe, saie the Landlords, you muste have a quarte Pewter potte. I will provyde one, saithe the poore man.

Dignitie. If this be true yt is horrible exaccion; but I praye you what doe they meane by forcing theire Tenauntes to have a quarte pewter potte?

Dutie. You have hearde before howe the Landlords woulde have theire rent wekely; theire meaning is that yf the rent be vnpayde a weke, that then the nexte tyme he or shee commeth for drincke, the potte is a suer pawne tyll the rente be payde.

Dignitie. It is a suer waie for the Landlords, but truly the poore ar horriblie oppressed: this woulde be looked vnto, for gods vengeance will fall vppon vs yf this be not redressed; but I praye you what yf the poore Tenaunte make defaulte and doe not fetche his bread, beere, butter, and cheese of his Landlords, but byeth yt where he maye have more for his moneye?

Dutie. Yf the Tenaunte make defaulte he were as good goe to the gallowes, for then his greate lewd Landlorde rowsethe himselfe and thundreth oute suche terrible threatinnings, that the poore man were as good be in hell as abyde the bytter wordes; and then no remedy, oute of his house he must presently departe, withoute greate entreatie of frendes and humble submyssion and payment in hand, with promyse to doe no more soe.

Dignitie. These ar fowle abuses in a Christian common wealthe and speacyallye in a cyvill Cyttie, that the poore shoulde be thus pinched and barred from the common bennefyt of subiects, and so racked in theire rents for such lowsie and fylthie cottages, to bad and to beastely for dogs to lye in. And therefore I praye you sette me downe your devyse for reformacion.

Dutie. I woulde have the magystrates calle before them all Alley Landlords, and bynde them with suertyes in good Recognizances, that as theire Tenaunts die or departe they shall not receave any more withoute the advice of the Alderman or his deputie and the churchewardeines, provided allwaies that none of the officers be eyther Bakers, Bruers, victuallers or allie maisters, for these sortes of people ar the very Catterpillers and supporters of all these myscheifes.

Dignitie. What, would you have no place for the poore to dwell in?

Dutie. God forbyd, but not to be receaved yn by theire discreacion, whoe being more gredye to make gaine of the poore then carefull to preserve the common state of the Cyttie.

Dignitie. Whie soe?

Dutie. Because they be carelesse whomme they receave to be theire Tenaunts, neyther doe they force howe they doe overchardge the

cyttie with beggers, so they maie have theire rent payde them, for I knowe where three lewde Lords of one Alleye receaved into theire beggerly Tenements above xl^tie^ persons into one Alleye, and in one yere, pestering three or foure Inmates into one Roome withoute chimneye or pryveye. And I knowe allso where the cyttie payethe to the poore pencyoners into one Alleye 58^li.^ a yere, whereof these straunge and common beggers have theire allowance as lardge and as muche as any poore free man or woman, which will not nor cannot for shame roge vp and downe soe ympudentlye as these forreine beggers doe, and yet theire allowance is no more then these, which dayly begge and anoye the cyttie; wherein there is greate wante of discrecion in disposing of these pencons, and this myscheife only groweth by the myserable covetousnes of the Landlords.

Dignitie. I must confesse there is no suche myscheife in a common wealthe as covetousnes. I would willingly yelde to your mocion, yf I sawe howe the poore myghte be prouyded convenient houses.

Dewtie. I will shewe you another waie. Lett the Chamber of London, the Bridgehouse, or the Corporacion of Companies, buye in those Alleyes and make of them convenyent and necessarie lodgings for poore people, and set a reasonable rent vpon them that the poore maie lyve withoute oppression, and so the poore shall allweies be Tenaunts to the state of the Cittie, and have swete and convenyent roomes to dwell yn. Or yf you lyke not of this devyse, Let London take example of Agusta in Germany, where the Cittizens have buylded iiii^c^ houses for the poore people, in a convenyent ayre, with three roomes, chymneyes and pryvies and lytle yerdes, payeng 4^s.^ a yere for eache of them. So shall the poore be eased from oppression, so shall the Cyttie be clensed from many fylthie contageous plagues and disseases, which wee ar nowe yerely subiecte vnto by reason of these covetous carelesse Landlords, whoe pester theire houses with people, having no necessarie easements for them.

Dignitie. I lyke your devyses passing well; yf any of these take effecte London wilbe the only Cyttie of the worlde; and yet there is one thing will not oute of my mynde.

Dutie. If yt please you to make yt knowne vnto me, I will doe my good will to satysfie you.

Dignitie. What is the cause that so manye lytle prettie children, boyes and gyrles, doe wander vp and downe in the stretes, loyter in Powles, and lye under hedges and stalles in the nights?

Dutie. In truthe this is for wante of due examinacion and searche, for there ar a nomber of poore Artyficers and others in this Cittie, having somtymes worcke and somtymes none, nor any meanes howe they shoulde maintaine themselves, which procure honest mens children oute of the countrie, and when worcke wanteth and money scanteth them they eyther turne them awaie, or ells they deale so sharpely with correccion that they force the children to ronne awaie, when in truthe the faulte is in the maysters and dames, not being able to kepe them, and so they comme to lye vnder stalles and catche disseases and ar forced to seke vnlawfull meanes to lyve. And truely I woulde wyshe the Governors and officers of this Cittie to have greate care vnto this, for yf this faulte were reformed god woulde blesse the Cyttie, and otherwyse we shalbe all plagued for these Inocents sake.

Dignitie. Trewe yt is, there are a nomber of children drawne out of dyvers partes of this realme by suche lewde people as ar leaste able to maintaine them selves, which is one specyall cause that the cittie is so overchardged with poore children which wander vp and downe in the streates; and therfore yf you coulde devise a remedie I shall thincke you have donne a very good worcke.

[Dutie.] I would wyshe the Governors of Christes hospitall (to whome in truthe this office appertaineth) to call before them all suche Inholders and others where any Carriers doe commonly resorte, and to take suche order with the Inholders and Carriers that they bringe not any childe to this cittie vnder the age of 18 yeres, vnles he or shee be well provided for, that they be not lefte to loyter vp and downe the cyttie for wante of maysters, as a nomber doe at this daie, as allso that the Beadells have in charge, as soone as they shall espie any childe to wander or loyter in the streates, that presently they bringe them to Christes hospittall and to make yt to be knowne to the Governors, to the ende they maie send for the parents, maysters and frends with whome suche a childe last dwelte, that the childe maie be

provided for, or othewyse sente into the countrie from whence he laste came, at the discrecon of the Governors.

Dignitie. I doe very well lyke of your devise, yf yt did not drawe with yt an ynfynyte chardge, for the hospitalls ar allreadie overchardged and there is not monye sufficient to defraie the chardges of those that ar allredie resceyved into these hospitalls, And therfore muche lesse able to relieve all those that wander vp and downe in the Cittie; and truly in myne opinion the Governors ar not to be chardged or troubled with those vag[r]ant and ydell people which wander vp and downe the stretes of the cyttie, but only with suche as ar by order broughte into the hospitalls.

Dewtie. You have touched twoe especiall poynts. The one ys that the governours have not monye to defraye the chardges of suche as they have allredy resceyved into theire hospitalls, and therfore ympossible for the cyttie to relieve those that ar at lardge. The other poynte is that the governors ar not to be chardged with the dissordered poore that wander in the stretes; yf I satysfie you in bothe these points I truste you will accepte yt in good parte.

Dignitie. I will doe soe and thancke you toe.

Dewtie. I will answer the last parte fyrste. In London you have three hospitalls erected, and they ar of three severall qualeties, and serve the cyttie for three severall purposes. They are called the hospitalls in London and for London. And you knowe that yt is ympossible for three houses to conteyne those three sortes of people, which those houses ar provided for. And you allso knowe that wekelye the[y] gyve and relieve moore oute of the three houses then the[y] doe within the howses, so that all London is but an hospitall, a place of releife for the poore every one in ther kynde, as now for Christe his Hospitall, which wekely payeth mony to releve a nomber of poore mens children, which are not Conteyned in the Hospitalle and yett within the charge of the Gouernors, for the statute doth appoynt that every Citye shall provide for their owne poore. The poore in London is the poore of the Citye, and must be provided for ether in the Hospitalls or out of the Hospitalls; your Hospitalls cannott receave them all, and yett they are your poore of the Citye, and

therefore members of your Hospitalls allthough not in your hospitalls. And I am perswaded that the governors are in dutye charged and in consciens bounde to haue as great a care to the well and vertuous bringinge vp of those poore children, whose parents beinge eather dead, or lyvinge throughe wante are not able to releue their children with necessary things. I say in theis cases the governors of each howse are to be as carefull for those without as they are for those that they haue within the walles of their houses; as for example, admitt there were in Cambridge five schollers roomes yerely for five poore children to be taken out of Christe his Hospitall, and in Christe his Hospitall there are founde but fower worthy of the place, I wold now knowe whether the governors of Christe his Hospitall are not bounde to looke vnto the poore manns childe whome they wekelye releue, who is sufficiently lerned to supplye one of the five roomes in Cambridge. I wold faine knowe what reason is to the contrary, but that this poore manns childe should be preferred and be accounted as one of their Hospitall, seinge the releife is generall and the gouernment generall, for it is a thing impossible that all the poore children of the Citye, which are releued by the Citye, should be conteyned within the Hospitalls. And yett beinge founde by releife of the Citye they are of the Hospitall, allthoughe not within the Hospitall.

Dignitie. You haue said very well and I am partly of your mynde. I will thinck vppon the rest when you haue sett downe your opinion which way the City may releue aswell those which wander as those which are allredye in the Hospitalls. And therefore I praye you answere the second poynt.

Dutie. I did not promise you to sett downe howe any more mony might be raised toward their charge. I said I wolde satisfie you that the gouernors are tyed in dutye both by gods lawe and by the lawes of the Realme, as allso by the foundation of the Hospitalls, to haue as great a care for the one as for the other.

Dignitie. You haue allredye said sufficientlye for that poynt, and I am perswaded you haue said trulye. And therefore vnles you showe me some devise which way theire may be some greater portion of mony raised to defrae this great charge which you wold laye upon the Citye, or ells sett downe somme devise how to cutt of

somme nedeles charge, that a greater nomber may be releued without any farther charginge of the Citizens. This donne you do but kepe your promise and satisfie that which I expect.

eutie. If I should enter into the particuler gouernment of the Hospitalls I might happely offend and so heape coles vppon my head, althoughe I haue not any meaninge to offend the least, but to show you my opinion for the best.

ignitie. Feare nothinge, I will be your warrant against all men; there is no good man will be offended to here of reformation, and cheifely for the releife of the poore and a generall benefitt to the common wealthe: therefore speake your minde bouldlye.

ewtie. First, I wold haue the governors to be fully perswaded that in Conscience they are bound to be as carefull for the vertuous bringinge vp of theis children, as well in good qualityes apt and fitt for Children, as if they weare there owne, havinge in minde that theire owne Children, theire Sonnes or daughters Children, may be releued by that which now they releue others, which beinge themselves but stewards, for the goods of the worlde are mutable, and god raiseth and god pulleth downe.

ignitie. I doubt not but that the governors are men that feare god, and they knowe full well that the Lord geueth and the lord taketh awaye; but what meane you by theise words, you wold haue the poore children to haue qualities insident and fitt for children, as thoughe they did want that which is necessary for children?

utie. You take me shorte. I do not thinck but that they haue that which children ought to haue, as meat, drinck, cloath, and cleanely keapt, with Somme learninge.

gnitie. Well then, you confesse that theis children are brought vp as other honest men's children ar.

tie. I doe confesse no less. And yett I say theis poore children must haue those helpes which other men's children haue nott.

gnitie. I praye you yeild me somme reasoun.

tie. Every man of abilitye that hath Children hath a speciall care too provide for them and to preferre them by his wealth, by his witt, or by his frends.

gnitie. What do you inferre thereof?

tie. Theise poore Children lackinge theis particuler helpes, the want wherof must be supplied by an other meane, for otherwise

they will continewe longe in the house, and so encrease a Continuall charge, wantinge that which might preferre them and hindering other that might be releaued.

Dignitie. I do partly sound your meaninge. I pray you procede.

Lutie. It weare convenient in my opinion that there were placed in the house diuers excellent scholemaisters of sondry quallities that could teache the children to wright diuers kinds of hands, as Secretory, Court hand, Chancery hand, Romaine hand, and such others as the children shalbe founde most aptest to lerne, as allso to read all kinds of hands, to sipher and to kepe accounts. I allso thinck it convenient that the children should learne to singe, to play vppon all sortes of instruments, as to sounde the trumpett, the cornett, the recorder or flute, to playe vppon shagbotts, shalmes, and all other instruments that are to be plaied vppon, ether with winde or finger, bycause nature yelds her seuerall gifts, and there is an aptnes of conceavinge in some more then in other some, and yett every child apt to learne the one or the other, those quallities cannott be greatly chargeable, bycause they are the gifts of god in nature, and they are quallities that every honest minde taketh great pleasure and delight in, and no doubt if the children be well tought, plyde and followed, it wilbe a redy meane to preferre a nomber of them havinge theis quallities.

Dignitie. I perceaue your meaninge; you thinck those quallities will preferre theis poore children, and stand them in as good stede as frends and mony, which riche men do bestowe with their children.

Dutie. I am of that minde.

Dignitie. Haue you no other meanes to preferre theis children?

Dutie. I could wishe that every sonday there might be x or xii of the children placed at paules Crosse vppon the leades of Sir Thomas Roo, with formes and some things devised to kepe them from weather, where they may stand in the vewe of all the people. I could allso wishe that every day in the terme there might the like nomber be conveniently placed in Westminster hall, where they might stand in the vewe of all estatts and degres. I do farther wishe that every afternoone in the terme they might be placed in one of the chapples in the Northe side of paules

churche, with formes and other prouicion made, where a nomber of them with their maisters might exercise their seuerall professions, that all passers by might both here and se them.

ignitie. Truly I muste nedes confesse that the sight of the children in such publick places, with the fame and report of theire seuerall quallities, must nedes preferre a great nomber of them. And it is not vnlikely but that diuers of them maye have bad Maisters, suche as will tourne them awaye vppon every light occation.

utie. I referre that to the discretion of the gouernors, who I doubt not will take good band, and be very carefull for the maintenance and contynuance of every suche childe as shalbe so preferred.

ignitie. Can you sett downe any other advise for the better advancement of the children?

utie. I woold haue all the boyes that are aboue viii yeres of age to haue dubletts, breches and shorte cotes made accordinge to the facion of the time, the better to sett forthe the children, for as the Lord hath made them perfett in theire creation, so lett ther be no imperfections in their outward actions that may anyway hinder their preferment, for apparrell shapeth and manners maketh, and the eye muste be pleased, allwaies observinge and kepinge your cullers of watchett and blewe.

ignitie. I must confesse that a Comlye garment doth bewtiffie and sett fourthe a Childe. But now to retorne againe to our former discourse, wold you haue the grammer skoole suppressed?

utie. No; lett honest poore Citizens cheldren haue the benefitt thereof, for whome it was specially prouided.

ignitie. Do you thinck that the Schooles of writinge, readinge, sipheringe and singinge wold be more beneficiall to the Children then the grammer schoole?

utie. I am out of doubt thereof, for the grammer School is a longe and tedious schoole, and many yeres are spent before the Children can growe to eny perfection, and yett after that they are come to perfection there followeth a charge even in the Vniversities, and for those which are not preferred to the Vniversities theire latten tonge standeth them in little stead.

ignitie. Wold you haue none to followe there lerninge?

ewtie. Yes, I wold haue such as by their frends procurement wold

have it so, And allso such as are founde very apte and ready to reaceue their lerninge.

Dignitie. I must Confesse that the grammer Schoole is an heavye and a tedious schoole, and that writinge, readinge and singinge are sooner obtained and with lesse charge, and serue better for any mans purpose.

Dutie. No man can sett downe what benefett, profitt and commoditie shall growe to the house, and what preferment shall comme to the children till there be some proofe made thereof, but we may easyly gesse that writinge, readinge, sipheringe and singinge are not onely lerned in shorte time, but allso they are ready meanes to preferre any childe, and every honest minde is greatly delighted with theis quallities. And if in one yere the gouerners deliuered out of the house fortye, they shal by this means deliuer an hundrethe.

Dignitie. You haue allmost brought me to be of your opinion; you haue said well for the boyes, nowe I praye you tell me your opinion for the maides.

Dutie. I muste saie for the maides as I haue said for the boyes, there ar a nomber of them that had there parents of good abillitye, allthoughe now in pouertie, yett their Children wold be brought vp as if their parents weare in their former state, and not in spinninge onely, for no doubt a nomber of the Children of theire owne accorde are very apte to take any other exercise, as soinge in silke, siluer and goulde, in workinge of sondrye kinds of laces, and such other things whiche wold be more profitable to the house and allsoe a greater preferment to the Children, for having Mistresses which could teache them theis quallities, they might haue more worke then they are able to do, for theis quallities will preferre any childe, and yett they may lerne to spynne and knitt without offence of the one to the other; theis I take to be present meanes too preferre the younge maides to good mistresses and in time to good husbands, which spinninge wold never do, for that is the profession of the poorer sorte, from whome there can comme no preferment.

Dignitie. I do very well perceave the marke wherat you shoote; you thinck that the Children beinge taught theis quallities, every man will desier to have them, and so the house shall deliuer

yerely a greate nomber, and so be able to take in as great a nomber of those which wander vp and down the stretes, which nowe they cann not do bycause theise continewe so longe in the house.

Dewtie. You haue said truthe; there is nether gentleman, gentlewoman, marchants wife, or any other, but they will gladly take a childe out of that house, havinge theise quallities. And the rather bycause the children are brought vp vertuously where no vice is norrished.

Dignitie. I like all you[r] deuises passinge well, and I praye to the Lord they may take suche Anker houlde as god may be glorified, the poore releued, and the Citye kept swete and cleane from all infection.

Dutie. If the Citye be not so sweete as you wold haue it, then Consider what be the occations that do anoy the same and lett them be removed, and lett the freshe water ronne through every strete in this Citye as it doth now in Cornehill, and this wilbe the swetest City in Cristendomme.

Digitnie. Your answere is shorte and swete. I do wishe it were so, and it were very necessary it should be so, and yett there is one thinge that doth greatly annoy this City and is daingerous to other her Maiesties good subiects, which before you haue somme what touched but not fully answered. And that is a great nomber of poore in the sicknes time do wander vp and downe the Citye, with their soares ronninge one them, breathinge in mens faces and resortinge to mens houses for releife, which is very daingerous.

Dutie. If it were not for the great charges, which I doubt the Citye wold some what stagger at, allthoughe I am perswaded that all good men wold largely contribute therevnto, I could wishe that their were builded in three or fower convenient places out of the Citye, as at White Chapple, at Benedick Spindelose gardens, and in such like voyd places, convenient Lodginge to reaceue the diseased of the plague, where they might be kept till they were hole, and haue all manner of prouision, as well Preachers, Phisitions, Apothecaries, Chirurgions and kepers, as necessary meate and drincke, wood and coale, and all other necessary provision, the want whereof is the cause that a nomber dye that

otherwise mighte lyve; and so the Citye shalbe clensed of a nomber of disseases and avoyde a multitude of evell and slaunderous speeches. And if the Citye mislike of this devise, yett lett them erectt 3 or 4c tenements and remove the poore people out of those filthy Allies, and lett the Allies be raised downe to the grounde and converted to open Yardes or gardens, and so the Citye shalbe kepte swete and deliuered of a thowsand contagious disseases.

Dignitie. I thanck you for this, you haue said well for London; now I praye you tell me why England troubleth London.

Dutie. London is a place vnto the which all estates as well temperall as speritual do resorte, and allso the place where both speritual and temperall lawes are ministred, by reason whereof London draweth vnto it great Concourse of people of all sortes.

Dignitie. What do you inferre thereof?

Dutie. By reason thereof it draweth vnto it all soldiers wantinge warres to imploy them, all wounded soldiers comme to London to be cured of their disseases. All serving men whose Lords and Maisters are dead resort to London to prouide them Maisters. All maisterles men whose maisters have cast them offe for somme offence or other comme to London to seke service. All other yonge lustye youthes which spend Michaelmas rent in Midsomer moone, which retain into their Service more [than] their lyvings will maintaine, that in the ende them selves are ether in prisonne for debte, or kylde in some brablinge fraie or hange for some felonye, Then there is no remedye but all theire servants and young buckler bearers come to London to seke service. There is allso a nomber of other ydel people, as lustie roges and common beggers, whose profession is neyther to be a souldier nor a servingman, hearinge of the greate lyberalletie of London cometh hither to seke reliefe. These ar the caterpillers of the common wealthe, these and the rest, being forreine and not domesticall, ar the people which overchardge London, and these ar those that cause the cyttie to be so evill reported.

Dignitie. You have tolde a very good tale and you have yelded greate reason of your speache, and I doe verely beleve yt to be true, and yf I be not over bolde with you I woulde entreate you to showe me somme remedie for this myscheife. But before you

enter into that accion, I woulde knowe of you the reason whie heretofore all those people before mencyoned, as servingmen, soldiers and other honest youthes, whose lacks have been the cause of theire loytering, have been packte vp and punnyshed alyke in Brydewell with roges, beggers, strompets and pylfering theves. This methincks goeth very harde that they make no difference betwene bonum and malum, consydering that the very name of Brydewell is in the eares of the people so odyous that yt kylleth the creadit for ever, and a thousande to one yf ever he or shee comme to any preferment, having tasted of that soyle; yt is a sufficient acquyttance to barre them of all hope or meanes of preferment.

Dutie. Allthoughe yt seme odious to the worlde, yet the faulte is not in the Governors, because they knowe not one man from another, neyther can they iudge of them before they be examyned.

Dignitie. Pretely answered; yt is not the punyshement which they receave that I fynde faulte withall, yt is the place, which was ordained only for Roges and common strumpetts; yt was not meant that any honest soldier or servingman having any good qualletie shoulde be broughte to Bridewell, where nothing is to be learned but lewdenes amoungest that generacion. And althoughe yt please god to laie the crosse of povertie vpon them for wante of service, will you presentlye condemne them for Roges? yt were very uncharetablie and not Christianlie done.

Dutie. I must confesse there is a fault, and yt is partely as well for wante of other place, as allso for lacke of maintenaunce, as yt shall appeare vnto you.

Dignitie. I fear yt will appeare to foule a faulte, and yf there be not to to [*sic*] greate abuses comytted in that house, the governors ar shamefully sclaundered.

Dutie. Evill will never saide well, and whoeso goeth aboute to correcte synne shall reape sclaunder for his rewarde. And to answer you, sir, I am perswaded that the Governors of the Hospitals, as well of Bridewell as of the rest, ar men that feare god, and of so good conscience that they woulde not for any worldely wealthe be touched with any corrupcion or gaine in mynistring of Justice: and therefore these ar but bruites and

sclaunders, raysed to discreadit theire good worckes and to deface theire doings. And yet I will not saie but there may be some errours comytted and men maye be abused, which is rather for want of knowledge and skill then of any pretended purpose or corrupte mynde.

Dignitie. You ar a Cittezen, you ar feede to speake for them.

Dutie. I am in truthe a Cittezen, but I neyther speake for feare nor for fee; they saye that yt is a synne to belye the devill, and muche more to sclaunder and to speake evill of those that deserve well.

Dignitie. Then, sir, I praie you showe me what is the reason whie the Governors contynewe 5, 6, or 7 yeres in one house, knowing that there is a constitucion and a promyse made to the king, to avoyde the suspicion and occasion of corrupcion, that they shall chaunge and shifte theire governors every yere or twoe yere at the moste?

Dutie. There hathe of late bene somme occasion offered, by reason of a sewte which contynued longe; and besyde yf they should staie but one yere they coulde never enter into the secreats of the governement, nor vnderstande the state of of [*sic*] the house, and so altogether vnable to accomplyshe that which is looked for at theire handes.

Dignitie. You speake of an accion depending long in sute: thereby hangeth a tale; the poores money was consumed in defending pryvate quarrells.

Dutie. The quarrell was gennerall and yt was for the maintenaunce of Justice. And yf men shalbe called to accoumpts and theire doings broughte in question, woulde you not that the common purse shoulde defende them?

Dignitie. Theire shoulde be in the common purse greate store of moneye, for Fame gyveth oute that not long sythence there was twoe fyftenes levyed for Bridewell.

Fame sayeth that the house of Bridewell is converted into rents of 100 *li.* or more a yere, and so neyther convenient place nor provysion for those whomme yt was fyrste provyded for.

Fame saithe they have lande in the contreye, as the parsonage of Northeley.

Fame saithe that they make greate sommes of the sande, which they have for fetching.

Fame saithe that there can not comme any lyme from any place but yt payeth trybute of everie c. to Bridewell.

Fame sayeth that all the Rents of Bedlem and all the money gyven to the same is converted to Bridewell.

Fame saythe that suche harlotts and other as are broughte thether, yf they be of abilletie, paie for theire dyett before they departe.

And Fame allso saithe that there hathe bene good rownde sommes of money taken for fynes of offences. So that yf there be not greate store of money in that stocke, there shoulde seme to be verye ill governemente.

Fame saith it is strange that nether gifts nor legaceis, nor the weekly profitts of shooes, nor the commodities of the trades which that howse doth vse, can make them riche.

Dutie. All this makes a greate showe in words and in substaunce nothing, and yf yt were the wealthe of a kingdome, Roges and Strompets woulde consume yt.

Dignitie. I woulde demaunde one question more and soe byd you farewell, which is this:

What shoulde yt meane that the Governors ar so carefull and dilligent in searching oute of mens wyves and other gallant gyrles, that they can not so soone treade theire shoe awaye, but presentlye a warrant is directed to the officers to watche hir and catche hir, and to Bridewell they bringe hir?

Dutie. It is to punnyshe synne.

Dignitie. Naie, there is more yn yt then so, for yt can not be that the care of the governors shoulde be so greate to punnyshe that synne which they them selves see not, neyther coulde they knowe of yt but by greate enquyrie and dilligent searche. I lyke well to have synne punnyshed, but not parceallye. They see in the streates a nomber of poore, aged and lame in greate myserye, but that they can not remedie. They see in the streates a nomber of poore children lye vnder stalles all the yere longe. They see dyvers poore woemen delyvered of of [*sic*] childe in the streates, churches and cadges, and no provision for them. They have sene allso a greate nomber of poore men, which have died this sommer of the sycknes in the streats for wante of reliefe, and no place provided for them. These things are to to apparant

in the eies of the people, that heaven and earthe cryeth vengeance, and suerly god can not but be angrie with vs, that will suffer our Christian Bretheren to die in the streates for wante of relyefe, and wee spende and consume our wealthe and our wytte in searching out of Harlotts, and leave the worckes of faythe and mercie vndone. And therefore yt is not nor yt can not be that theire zeale is so greate in punyshing of that, [of] which Christe said to the woeman: let him that is not guylty throwe the fyrste stone. But graunt yt is good to punnyshe synne. So yt is good to succour, healpe and to relieve the poore. And thereof they take theire names to be governors of the poore; yt is a badde kinde of governemente to see them die in the streates. This is a greate abuse, Alltogether forgetting the words of Christ, where yt is saide: I was naked and ye clothed me not, I was hungry and yee gave me no meate. And therefore hell and damnacion is prepared for yee.

Dutie. For the poore which lie in the streates or die in the streates, yt is answered before: London cannott relyefe ynglande. And for punyshing mens wyfes and brave dames, there is greate Reason for yt, for synne dothe so abounde in these daies, that yf there were not sharpe and severe punyshment vice woulde overflowe vertue. And againe yf the brave hoore were not punyshed as well as the base hoore, the governors mighte be condemned of parcialletie.

Dignitie. I will not spende any more wordes in demaunding any more questions touching Bridewell, for yf I shoulde ronne into particulareties I shoulde reape vp suche matter as ys alltogether vnfytte for this place, neyther will tyme serve. And therfore I will aske you a worde or twoe touching Bedlem, because you saide even nowe that the rents of Bedlem were converted to Brydwell.

Dutie. So Fame saythe that bothe rents and all other proffits.

Dignitie. Then I pray you what is becomme of Bedlem?

Dutie. It standes without Bishops gate.

Dignitie. You cutte me very shorte. I meane, dothe yt not harbour and kepe the Lunaticque poore people as in tyme past?

Dutie. There ar dyvers poore people, and as yt is saide they paie vi$^{s.}$ viii$^{d.}$ at theire entrie and ii$^{s.}$ a weke, and so they have harde lodging and colde fare.

Dignitie. There was a Chappell wherein there was praiers made to god to restore them againe to theire righte wytts.

Dutie. Bedlem and Bridewell ar nere kynsemen in condicions. And Lunaticque personnes by lawe ar not legittimate to holde any lands. Bridewell as nexte of kynne enioyeth the lyving, and the Chappell is chaunged into fayre tennements, and prayeng in that place is tourned into pratling.

Dignitie. Of many matters wee have discoursed, and I trust to good purpose. And as I remember you promysed in the begining to sett downe your opinion touching the beggers of Englande which trouble London, As allso to touche somme abuses vsed in the other hospitalles; but I see tyme passeth awaie and I have bene bothe tedious and troublesomme vnto you, and therefore I will drawe to an ende.

Dutie. Pardonato. I have allreadie touched many abuses in generall, and yf there followe reformacion of that which wee have ripte vp, I shall thincke bothe my tyme and my traveile well spent, and be encouraged to proceade with the rest for the poore of Englande.

Dignitie. I moste hartely thancke you for this that you have donne; you have taken greate paines and I have taken as greate pleasure in this discourse, and yt shall not be longe before I calle vppon you for the rest. I will allowe you a breathing tyme. And therefore I praie you be myndeful of your promyse; for gods cause chiefelye and for your good prince, countrey and common wealthe, let not this be buryed in oblyvion.

Dutie. My witte, my wealthe, my lyfe and my deathe, and all my power is readye preste to doe my prince, countrye and common wealthe good.

FINIS QD J. H.

5. EXTRACT FROM HENRY ARTH'S TRACT, "PROVISION FOR THE POORE," 1597.

[Provision for the poore, now in penurie: Out of the store-house of Gods plentie. . . . Explained by H. A. (London: Printed by Thomas Creede, 1597), *passim.*]

. . . *Blessed is he that considereth of the poore, the Lord will deliver him in the time of his trouble.*

In this parcell of holy Scripture we are to observe especially two parts.

1. First the description of a good man or woman in these words expressed, *Blessed is he that considereth of the poore.*

2. Second, the benefit belonging to such a person, that is to say, *The Lord will deliver him in the time of his trouble.*

In the description of this good man, we are to remember two other points.

1. First, the title ascribed to him, *That he is blessed.*

2. Second, the manifest marke of such a man, *That he considereth of the poore.*

Concerning the benefit belonging to such a man, wee are to meditate on these two points also.

1. First, *His safe preservation*, contained in these words, *The Lord will deliver him.*

2. Second, *The time when* especially, viz., *In the time of his trouble.*

To begin with the first point, and proceede in the particulars, where the kingly Prophet David saith: *Blessed is hee that considereth, etc.*, His meaning is not, that such a *good man onely is blessed*, but such a woman also, for in this place *Man* signifieth mankinde, that is, both sexes, man and woman. As our Saviour Christ in generall tearmes saith: *Blessed are the mercifull*, naming neither man nor woman, but compriseth them both within the compasse of true blessednesse, (if they be *mercifull*).

Moreover, though in the description of this godly person, or any other in usuall speech, the title is ever let downe before, to moove others to better attention of that which followeth, yet having relation unto the qualities of that person, it must in

order follow the same, and be handled the latter, for in due proceeding the case standeth thus: *He that considereth the poore, he is blessed.* As if the Prophet should say, whosoever would know one speciall marke (amongst others) of a blessed man, hee that considereth the poore is such a one. In which short sentence we are to observe sixe especiall points.

1. What kinde of poore the Prophet here meaneth.
2. What it is, rightly to consider of them.
3. What persons rightly consider the poore.
4. To produce some examples of the poore considerers.
5. The double effect of considering the poore.
6. Their dangerous estate that consider not the poore.

To begin first with those poore whom the Prophet here propoundeth to bee considered of: in a word they bee all sorts of poore, good and bad, that are in any kinde of necessitie: which may be manifested by Saint Pauls words: *Doo good to all, especially to those of the houshold of faith:* containing both sorts within the compasse of our compassion, by the which occasion these circumstances concerning the poore are to bee remembred.

1. The severall kinds of poore to be holpen.
2. That none ought to be idle, nor yet to begge.
3. Why God will have the poore amongst us.
4. What provision is made for them by law.
5. Her Maiesties continuall care for their supplie.
6. What meanes to relieve them is put in practice.

Concerning these severall kinds of poore, that now especially are to be considered of, may wel be divided into these two sorts.

1. The impotent poore.
2. The poore able to woorke.

The impotent poore (though many in number) may well be conteyned within these foure kinds, all wanting wherewith to relieve themselves.

1. Aged persons past their worke.
2. Lamed persons unable to worke.
3. Little infants without parents.
4. Poore sicke persons during their weaknesse.

All these of necessitie must be maintained in the whole (if they have not of their owne towards their supply), for touching

the sicke poore, (though they have some goods, gotten by sore labour in their health) yet I see no reason, that they should sell the Cowe which gives the children milke, nor the tooles they worke with, nor any needfull thing belonging to their maintenance: all which things in compassion are to be spared, as the lawes of *Moses* provided in that case.

Concerning the poore that are able to worke, they may be divided into these two sorts.

1. Such as may earne their whole maintenance.
2. Such as must be relieved in part.

The poore that are able to live by their labour are of three sortes.

1. Such as are willing to take pains, and cannot get worke.
2. Such as are yong and lustie, yet unwilling to labour.
3. Such as are committed for some offences, and have not wherewith to be maintained.

The poore not able to live by their labour, and yet fitte and willing to take paines, are of three sorts also.

1. Orphaned children above seven yeares olde.
2. Such as bee overcharged with children, having nothing to maintaine them but their hand labour.
3. Such as fall to decay in their workes, by reason of theyr yeares, weaknesse or infirmities.

All which ought to be relieved in part, as their necessitie shal require.

The second circumstaunce touching the poore, is, to provide that none live idlely that can labour, nor any begge that are unable: for both those persons staine our profession by theyr bad examples.

But some will obiect, was not *Lazarus* a begger, lying dayly at the rich mans doore, and yet recommended in holy Scripture to be one of the redeemed in Jesus Christ.

The example of *Lazarus* is commended for his patience (not for his begging), being onely constrained thereunto, or else to famish. So small regarde then was had of the poore, that were unable to worke: for, if begging had been lawfull, Christ would have sayde, You shall have Beggers alwayes with you, in stead of the Poore.

The strangers in London (if report be true) may be a patterne in these respects to all our English nation, for they are so carefull to keepe their Countrey people, both from idlenesse, and begging, that such as can worke neither want worke, nor yet wages, and so soone as any fall in decay, their state is imparted unto their company, and then commonly, they abstaine one meale on the next Lordes day, and give the price thereof towards the parties maintenance. And their care in this case was so great in the primitive Church, that manie solde their living to maintaine theyr poore Brethren, and kept a custome everie Lordes day to lay up some money towardes the reliefe of poore straungers, when a collection should bee made for them: so unwilling they were that any Christian should begge in those dayes, to the dishonour of Christ and his Gospel.

The thirde circumstaunce touching the poore, is to search out the cause why God hath left the poore amongst us (scattered as it were in all countries), which may seeme to bee in two respects, partly to trie our love unto them, and partly to approve our faith unto God, that he may blesse us, as *Moses* declareth after this maner:

If anie of thy brethren be falne poore, in the Citie, (as yee shall have the poore alwayes with you) yee shall lende and give him (as necessitie requyreth), without any grudging (not looking for it againe), that the Lorde thy God may prosper thy proceedings.

The fourth circumstaunce concerning the poore, is to consider, howe the lawes of this lande hath provided for them, which consist in three Statutes made to that ende since her Maiesties reigne.

1. The first, made in the fourteenth yeere of her highnesse reigne, intituled, An Act for the punishing of all rogish vagabonds.

2. The second, made in the eighteenth yeare of her highnesse reigne, intituled, An Act for setting the poore on worke, etc.

3. The third, made in the five and thirtith yeare of her highnesse reigne, intituled, An Act for the necessarie reliefe of souldiers and mariners.

In the first Act, there is restraynt, that none shall wander abroad without licence upon speciall occasion: all other vagarant

persons able to worke, to be taken and punished as Rogues and Vagabonds; The first offence, to be stocking and whipping: The second, to be burnt in the eare: and the third, to be taken and hanged as felons.

The second act tendeth, to set the poore on work, that there should be houses of correction builded in all countreyes, and stocks in money provided, to set all the poore (that can worke) or lacke worke, to spinne, knit, or such like, (and all the impotent to be otherwise releeved by weekely contribution). If any refuse to worke that are able, to be punished with want of meat (as the apostle warneth), with stocking, whipping, or otherwise, at the governours discretion.

The third act provideth that all manner of Souldiers and marriners that fal to be maimed in her maiesties warres shall be maintained honestly in their owne Countreyes (by generall ceassments) according to the places they served in before, bringing due testimonie thereof, from their generall or Captaine.

If these three statutes were duely put in execution (according to the true meaning thereof), there neither could nor would be so many poore, nor so great penurie, as there is at this day.

The fift circumstance concerning the poore, to moove our compassion towards their sustenance, is the consideration of her maiesties most gracious regard and forwardnesse, to have their wants supplyed in all parts, appearing plainely in these two points cheefly.

1. First in releasing her owne right by custome for the bringing in of corne from forraine kingdomes, to serve the want throughout her dominions (which will amount to no small summe), both to incourage her merchants to venture, and to bring downe the price to releeve the poore, which (God be thanked) it hath doone already in many places.

2. Second, in causing her maiesties most honorable councell to direct theyr letters in her owne name to the two Archbishops, of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, to signifie her pleasure to all their brethren in both prouinces, that Wednesday suppers should be spared of the more able, and wholly conuerted towards the due releefe of the poore.

I may not omit heere the christian perswasions of the Lords of

the councell, in their godly letters to the said Archbishop, to moove them by all good meanes to seeke the maintenance of the poore, and withall in setting downe necessarie direction to all the Justices in this Realme, for the restraint of wasteful expences, and due prouision to serue the markets with corne in all parts (so much as is possible), to procure releefe for her maiesties people, that none might perish by this great penurie.

Whereunto if we adde the forfaiture of 12 pence for euerie housholders absence from Church (man and woman) forenoone and after, sunday and holiday (according to the statute), without sufficient cause alledged, to be duely collected by Churchwardens and others appointed to that end, with the like regard for Wednesday suppers: there would be sufficient releefe for the poore in all places (if corne were much deerer), as by indifferent computation will appeare, If we estimate the price of foure able persons (their suppers only) towards the releefe of one poore body, that could not worke.

The sixt circumstance concerning the poore, is to search out how those prouisions made by Law for their due releefe is put in practise: that is in few words, whether the impotent be prouided for, whether the able to labour haue worke and wages to live upon, and whether all idle vagabondes that are able and will not worke be punished for example sake (according to the statutes before expressed).

It may be spoken to the praise of some well disposed people in some good townes, within some parts of her maiesties dominions, that a man passing through the same shall see not one begger asking any almes, (except one or two that keepe the common box, according to the order) to take the beneuolence of trauellers and strangers: so well are the statutes obserued in those places.

For the towne of *Wakefield*, where my abode is, (though the poore be many and needy) yet thus much in truth I may speak, to my knowledge, that if any be pinched with penurie, the default especially resteth in themselves, though some other persons can not be excused. For (to the prayse of God bee it spoken) there is not onelie a house of correction, according to the Lawe, but withall, certaine stockes of money put foorth into honest

Clothiers handes, who are bounde with good sureties to set all the able poore to worke, after five pence or sixe pence a pound of wooll spinning (as they shall deserue), if they will fetch it.

For the impotent poore in euery streete, they haue beene considered of, (by the most able and forwarde men of that Towne) and a generall ceassement voluntarie made for their supplie weekelie, which by confirmation of her Maiesties Justices is still kept of euery able householder, besides the Wednesdayes Suppers, for the which the Church-wardens take paynes accordingly, wherein if euerie one woulde discharge that dutie required of her Maiestie, to let the poore haue the full benefite of their sayde Suppers, there should not one person haue cause to begge there for all this deare yeare. As for the yonger sort, fitte to learne trades and occupations, there is order taken to put them to apprentisshippe, or otherwise to seruice.

Hauing thus farre onely made declaration of the seuerall kindes of poore, and what prouision hath beene made for them by Actes of Parliament, and now of late by her Maiesties good meanes, and speciall direction from the Lordes of her Counsaile: Let us nowe proceede to the second speciall poynt of the former sixe.

What it is rightly to consider of the poore.

Concerning this poynt, there be sixe propositions of speciall importaunce to be considered of:

1. The proceeding causes of so manie poore in all Countreyes.
2. That God might haue made our estàte lyke unto theirs.
3. That we should do to them as we would be done unto.
4. Why we all ought to helpe to relieue them.
5. Those places of scripture tending to compassion.
6. How their present want may be relieued.

To begin with the first proposition touching the proceeding causes of many poore in all Countreys, though some impute the same to the dearth of graine, and the occasion thereof to unseasonable weather, especially in haruest time, by tempestuous winds which shoake out the corne when it would haue beene shorne, yet must we search further from whence those windes came, and the cause thereof, which were the proceeding causes indeede.

For the former of these last causes, all windes and ill-weather proceede directly from the iustice of God, (as many places of the holie Scripture proue the same) especially in the Prophecie of Amos, where it is sayde, *There is no euill befalles to any Citie, but the Lord hath done it*, (meaning by *euill*, all maner of afflictions).

Concerning the latter, the Scripture likewise doth make mention, that the sinnes of all people do prouoke Gods iustice, to plague us sundrie wayes, as all men may perceyue in perusing the Prophets (especially the booke of Deuteronomie and Leuiticus).

The due premeditation whereof will urge us to consider of those particular sinnes, which procure Gods iustice to punish us with penurie.

1. Partly proceeding from the poore themselues.
2. But more especially from the poore makers.

The proceeding sinnes from the poore themselues, whereby they prouoke the Lord to pinch them, are these six especially.

1. First, their misspending of former times in idlenesse, when they might haue wrought.
2. Secondly, their wilfull wasting of their goods when they had them, in bibbing and belly-cheare.
3. Thirdly, their impacient bearing of their present want, complaining often without cause.
4. Fourthly, their dayly repining at others prosperitie, to haue so much, and they so little.
5. Fiftly, their banning and cursing, when they are not serued as themselues desire.
6. Sixtly, their seldome repairing to their parish Churches, to heare and learne their duties better: all which must be amended, if they would haue their wants supplyed.

The proceeding sinnes from the poore makers, whereby they prouoke Gods iustice to plague us with this present penurie, in all places, are many and grieuous, especially ten, which may be tearmed the breeders of the poore.

1. All excessiue proude persons in apparell.
2. The unmeasurable wasters of meate and drinke.
3. The importable oppression of many Landlords.

4. The unconsionable extortion of all usurers.
5. The unsatiable couetousnesse of corne-mongers.
6. The wilfull wrangling in law matters.
7. The immoderate abuse of gamming in all Countreys.
8. The discharging of seruants and apprentises.
9. The generall abuse of all Gods benefites.
10. The want of execution of good lawes and statutes.

All which must needs increase the poore, and the increase of poore must likewise procure penurie, and scarcitie in all places, as by diligent examining the former particulars will appeare plainely, to the view of all persons.

To begin first with all proud persons, that keepe no moderation in their apparell, neither in cost nor charge, and commonly farre aboue their calling, must not their maintenance urge great sums of money? It may be more then either their rents or getting will extend, which must needs inforce them, either to racke their tenants by fines, or else to run on score in their creditors bookes, till they sell them one lordship after an other, and then must the tenants pay for their pride: and will not this dealing make many poore?

The second sort of poore makers, be all such kinde of prodigall persons as riotously waste their goods and substance, in surfetting and drunkennesse, in banketting and bellicheare, day after day deuouring more meate and drinke into one bellie, then woulde well serue two or three persons: and must not this dealing make all graine and victuals the scanter, which in the ende must needes pinch the poore, through want of the same?

The thirde sort of poore makers, are all unreasonable oppressing Landlordes, and that by three hookes, either by turning theyr Tenaunts out of doores, to enlarge theyr Demaines with their tenements, or inhauncing of their rents, or else in making them sell all their goods, that they are not able to till their land, but let it out to others: and must not this dealing make many poore?

The fourth sort of poore makers, are all kinde of Usurers, whether it bee in money or wares, who deale so unconcionably with men in these dayes, that they are not ashamed to extort twentie, thirtie, or fortie poundes in the hundreth, so they

can defraude the lawe: and will not this dealing make many poore?

The fifth sort of poore makers, are all sorts of couetous Cornemongers, who commonly keepe one yeares store before hande, closely laide up in their Arkes or Garners, and rather then they will shew themselues so louing to bring it to the Market, to make corne cheaper, can be contented to see theyr neighbours famished: and must not this dealing increase their penurie?

The sixth sort of poore makers, are all wilfull wranglers in Lawe matters, consuming their substaunce in wreaking their wicked willes one of another (and sometymes brother with brother, about verie trifles), as I coulde name a couple that might once haue beene accorded under twentie Nobles, within this fewe yeares, and nowe haue quite spoyled one the other, with suites in lawe: and must not this dealing increase the poore?

The seauenth sort of poore makers, are all immoderate unthrift gamesters (at dice and cards specially), which (if they be lawful) ought onely to bee used for recreation, to make them more apt to walke in their vocation, and not to make gamening an occupation to get their liuing thereby (and that for the most parte to others destruction, their wiues and children), loosing possibly more in one night, then they can recouer all the yeere after, and force great men sometimes to sell whole Lordshippes to satisfie their lusts: and will not this dealing make many poore?

The eight sort of poore makers, are such as unlawfully dismisse their Seruants and apprentises before their tearme end, and breake up housekeeping for sauing of charges, being well able to maintaine them still: and will not this dealing increase the poore?

The ninth sort of poore makers, is the generall abuse of all Gods benefits (almost in all estates) very few keeping any moderation, besides our unthankfulnesse, which must needes increase the prices of all things, so as the meaner sort can hardly gette maintenance: and must not this dealing make the more poore?

The tenth sort of poore makers, is the want of execution of those Lawes and orders made for theyr prouision, which fault resteth in Magistrates and officers appoynted to that ende, and

in many ministers, who ought publikely and priuatly to reproove abuses, and put all persons in minde of their duties, yet either they cannot, or will not performe the same, whereby the most do liue in disorder: and will not this dealing increase the poore?

Now if one of these poore makers may breede many poore (as the oppression of Tenants by one cruell Landlorde), howe many will they breede all tenne together? I thinke they will fall out to bee innumerable, namely if wee consider howe many such poore makers euery country hath, yea euery towne in one respect or other, for what towne is there but hath some gamesters, alestakes, and such like, that daily increase the poore, which they would not doo if they did but often thinke of this one point.

That euery person at the last day shall giue an account of his owne stewardship etc.

The meditation hereof will make them more carefull to walke in Gods feare, if they looke at that day to finde his fauour, when euery person shall bee adiudged according to the using or abusing theyr gifts, to the helping or hindering of the poore (as Christ the great iudge shall then proceede with them), receiuing the mercifull into his kingdome, reiecting the mercilesse into hell torments, to be damned for euer with Sathan and his Angels, except they iudge themselues in time (to preuent the iudgement of the Lord) in maner following.

The vaineglorious person may thus thinke, I haue procured Gods iustice to plague us, by spending so much in change of apparrell (aboue my calling) and so little or nothing to releeve the poore: if I should holde on this course I shall bee condemned, therefore (by Gods grace) I will heereafter go more soberly in my apparrell, to doo the more good to such as neede the same, that Christ may receiue me into his kingdome.

The prodigall unthrift may say in like sort, I haue procured Gods plagues upon us, by wasting much money in bibbing and bellycheere, that others now do feele the want therof, therfore (by his grace) I will be more sparing in time to come, that the poore may haue more plentie, and I escape damnation which I haue deserued.

The oppressing Landlord may likewise say, I haue prouoked Gods iustice to plague us, in spoyling of so many of their goodes and liuings by incroching uppon them, by inhauncing their rents, and by excessiue fines, whereby I haue brought them to the beggers staffe, therefore (by Gods grace) I will no more doo so, but heere after deale more mercifully with them, least I be damned with deuils in hell.

The deuouring usurer may say in like sort, I haue procured the Lord to plague us, by my extorting much money from many, and getting my goods with polling and pilling of other persons, and thereby haue brought them into pouertie: but (by Gods grace) heereafter I will leaue that trade (and rather seeke to make restitution), otherwise I cannot inherit Gods kingdome.

The couetous cornemonger may likewise say, I have prouoked Gods iustice to plague us, being a meane to inhaunce the price of all graine, by withholding my corne from the market this deere yeere, and so haue procured the poore to curse me, but henceforth (God willing) I will helpe to bring downe the price againe, least I be cursed for euermore.

The wilfull wrangler may say in like sort, I haue procured Gods plague upon us, by wastefull misspending much money in lawe, to my owne great dammage and others also, which would haue doone much good to the poore, towardes theyr releefe this deere yeere. But (by Gods grace) I will heereafter further the same, by leauing law suits, and liue in charitie, that Christ may receiue me into his kingdome.

The unmeasurable gamester may likewise say, I haue prouoked the Lord to plague us by my wilfull wasting much time and money by immorderate gamening, which would haue holpen the poore very well: but (by Gods grace) heereafter I will leaue that lewd course, that I may spare the more to releeue them, and so (through his mercies) come to saluation.

The niggardly house keeper may say in like sort, I have procured Gods plagues upon us, by putting away my Seruants and apprentises this deere yeere (to spare charge onely through couetousnesse), whereby the poores want hath beene the greater: but (by Gods grace) I will heereafter become more liberall, to releeve their necessitie, that I may inherit eternall felicitie.

Hee that enioyeth his ease and pleasure may likewise say, I haue prouoked the Lord to plague us, by my unthankfulnesse and idle expences, more then I layde out to releeve the poore, in most places almost pined through penurie. But (by Gods good grace) I will heereafter set lesse by my delights, and more to helpe the needie (as God requireth), that I may bee receiued into his heavenly tabernacle, when this life is ended.

The carelesse magistrate or minister may say, I haue procured the Lord to plague us, both by my owne default of duty, and little regarde to call uppon others to looke to their charges, towards the releefe of the poore this deere yeere. But (by Gods grace) I will be more carefull henceforth of my dutie, and see them supplyed, so as none (through my default) shall be famished, that I may shew my selfe blessed of Christ, both in this world and that to come.

If all able persons to whome God hath given the gifts of this world, would thus iudge themselues and amend that is a misse (as we are all bounde), the poore should then be well prouided for in all places, and God be so pleased with our compassion to his needie members, as we should procure (from his liberall bountifulnesse) more plentifull increases of all things needfull, to fill our mouthes full of his deserued praises, for his mercifull proceedings with his poore seruants, that depende upon his prouidence.

. . . . . .

The sixt point of consideration for all able persons to thinke uppon, is, how the poore *may* and *must be releeved*, if we will shew our selves to be true Christians, or ever looke that Christ should comfort us at our last ending, when death shall arrest us, to carrie us either to ioy or paine, and that everlasting.

The serious consideration therefore of these points is most needfull: for, though we lay open the naked estate of all poore people never so barely, and produce never so manifest reasons of great importance to move all able men unto compassion, yet considering their present want is so much, and the meanes so scant wherewith to releeve them, with the time so long till God send new store (the ware corne seed in the most cold countreyes being yet unsowen), which threatneth a further famin to follow,

without due provision now in time: Let us then consider this maine point.

1. How the want of the poore may be still releeved.

Concerning the want of the poore, it may be supplyed two manner of waies.

1. First by removing the cause of their wants.
2. Second, by adding a further supply.

Concerning the causes of the poore (as hath been plainely explaned before) the same doth proceede partly from themselves through their idlenes, etc., but more especially from the poore makers (whereof there be sundrie sorts before named), who if they would surcease their immoderate excesse (as hath beene moved by many sounde reasons) the poore would gette daily releefs thereby. For, as it is a tried rule in Phisicke, *Take away the cause of any maladie*, and the effect of curing will follow of itselfe: for as the one is in remooving, the other is in comming (the one as it were following the other), the like is the cause concerning the poore: for if the wastefull expences in their makers (as it were all drawen out of their purses) were againe restored into the same, they should have little cause to complaine, for both they should have more store of money to buye what they neede, and vittels then would be more plentie.

As for example, the very overplus of prodigal persons ys misspent so much in bibbing and bellicheere, which breedeth diseases in them: if that were spared heereafter in al places, how many thousands throughout al England might be wel releeved, it would be incredible, seeing every towne will afford some such unthrifts.

The like may be saide of all other sorts of excessive persons, that if they were drawen to due moderation, and their overplus converted to the use of the poore: it would appeare by computation that maintenance enough might be had for almost innumerable poore persons, if corne should beare the double price in all markets.

Touching the second point, which is the procuring of supply in corne from other countreyes, that care hath hitherto manifested it selfe in her gracious Maiestie and most honourable Councell (as the great aboundance of white rie brought into

England from beyond the seas doth demonstrate); the Lorde grant it may hold out still.

. . . . . .

To conclude therfore, seeing at this present the hand of God is heavy upon us, in most places of this Realme of *England*, appearing plainly in this great penury, amongst the poorer sort especially, and threatned further in greater measure, by severall signes from heaven, by strange diseases on earth, and by forraigne invasion of devoted enemies, our sinnes most of all provoking the same, which wil in the end procure our desolation, without speedie conversion, which we can never attaine unto (what meanes soever be used for the same) without Gods especiall grace and direction, which must be obteined by earnest petition: Let us all then incessantly aske, knocke, seeke and sue for the same continually, at the footestoole of his mercy, in the name and mediation of Christ Jesus onely, with assurance to speed, so shall we not only remove his displeasure, but be assured to procure his favour, for evermore: So be it.

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